

A SUMMARY
OF
UNIVERSAL HISTORY;
IN NINE VOLUMES.

EXHIBITING
THE RISE, DECLINE, AND REVOLUTIONS OF THE
DIFFERENT NATIONS OF THE WORLD,
FROM THE CREATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF
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UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

A SUMMARY

OF

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

AT the period in which we are entering, the aspect of the universe was changed. Great nations covered the globe, under ancient names; but neither the men nor the governments were the same, and still less the religions.

THE ARABS.

Mahomet appeared. Under the standard of Mahomet, this enthusiastic conqueror, and the banners of ^{578.} his successors, the Arabs, whose infancy we have sketched, became powerful, and extended their dominion into Asia, Africa, and even into Europe. No period could be more favourable to the success of this new legislator. The luxury and indolence of the Greeks, the weakness of the Roman empire, the decline of the Persian, the corruption and divisions which prevailed among the christians, all announced a

general convulsion throughout Asia. Lawless imaginations capable of every vice, and a licentiousness of morals unrestrained by any curb; Mahomet, a man formed to take advantage of these circumstances, was born at Mecca, a town of Arabia Felix, towards the end of the sixth century, of a family whose origin the Mussulman doctors carry back, in a direct line, to Abraham.

He was forty years of age before he declared himself the prophet and missionary of God; his disciples fill up this interval with miracles, which began at his birth. At that instant, a most wonderful light illuminated all Syria. In giving him birth, his mother, throwing herself on her knees, devoutly pronounced these words: "God is great: there is but one only God!" He was born circumcised; at this moment, all the demons, or evil genii, stationed as sentinels in the stars, and signs of the zodiac, to tempt the inhabitants of heaven, were cast down, and from that time they ceased to animate idols, inspire oracles, and were deprived of all their power. The Persian fire went out, and the waters of a revered lake stopped their course. A dreadful earthquake overthrew the greater part of the king of Persia's palace, and fourteen of its towers. When the monarch demanded the cause of this event, his magician announced to him, that after fourteen reigns the Persian

empire should be subdued, and the throne filled by the descendants of an infant who was just born at Mecca. The king paid a visit to the child, and foretold his future grandeur to his parents. These are facts which cannot be doubted, for the mother of Mahomet related them.

Mahomet lost his father at four months, and his mother at six years old, and was brought up first by his grandfather, and then his uncle, who carried him with him at thirteen years of age into Syria, where his commerce called him. Mahomet made himself very useful, became factor to a widow named Khadijah, who married him, and thereby made him one of the most opulent inhabitants of Mecca. Before his marriage, he had distinguished himself under his uncle's command, in one of those wars which the Arab tribes continually wage against each other. During his first journey into Syria, with his uncle, he had frequent conversations with a nestorian monk, named Sergius, who taught him the tenets of the jewish and christian religions: these conversations were continued in different journeys; and there is reason to believe, that Mahomet, although at a distance, still found means to correspond with the Syrian monk; consequently, the prophet of the Mussulmen entered on his mission possessed of three things of great importance to all founders of a new sect; viz. considerable wealth, a name famous

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

for courage and military skill, and a reputation for learning: all powerful engines on a people totally ignorant, and wavering in their opinion. Such were the inhabitants of that part of Arabia where Māhomet lived, united by the necessity of carrying on their commerce with the nestorian, eutygian, and every sect of christians, and with the Jews and idolaters, who surrounded them. They drew from the countries they visited, a greater inclination to doubts and errors, than any light of reason. They still retained, however, a faint glimmering of their primitive religion; but so faint, that it differed but little from darkness. The chief part of them knew neither of a providence, a resurrection, nor a future state. They had no idea of angels and spirits, performed neither form of prayer nor any worship, except a profound veneration for the Caaba, or house of Abraham, transported to Mecca in a miraculous manner, which they visited with the greatest respect, accompanied with ablutions, prayers, and prostrations. They all agreed in the belief of one God, and Mahomet made this tenet the foundation of his religion: he also preserved the pilgrimages to the Caaba, and the refreshing purification so necessary in burning climates. If he repulsed the idolaters, by his preaching only one God, he soon brought them back, by the voluptuous lure he spread for them. The

pleasures he promised in another life made the resurrection desirable; and, as he declared they were chiefly destined for those who fell in his cause, he made enthusiastic soldiers, intrepid in danger, into which they rushed without precaution, pre-possessed as they were with the principle of fatalism; that is, that our last hour being fixed in heaven, we should precipitate ourselves forward, without caring about the event, which is beyond the reach of all human prudence. Mahomet, in fine, said, he did not pretend to teach a new religion, but only to re-establish the true and ancient one professed by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Joshua, and the rest of the prophets.

After having planned his system, the unfolding of which took place gradually, Mahomet leads his wife, Khadijah, into a cave in Mount Hara, near Mecca. There he reveals to her that the angel Gabriel had appeared to him, and announced to him, that he was destined to be the apostle of God: she piously believes him, and filled with joy, goes and informs Waraka, her cousin, who was a christian, knew how to read and write, and was tolerably acquainted with the Old and New Testament. Whether from simplicity or policy, Waraka appeared to give credit to this revelation of his relation's. Mahomet is so transported at this success, that he walks seven times round the Caaba, in thank-

giving. The secret circulates through the family: some believe it, others ridicule it. Besides his old nurse, and some other women, Ali, a relation and ward of Mahomet's, a youth about twelve or fourteen years of age, after Waraka, is his first disciple. These are followed by a person of much more importance, named Abu Becr, a man very much esteemed in the Koreish tribe, of which a part openly declared in favour of the new prophet. However, not being certain of the zeal of his partizans, Mahomet catechized them in secret, and young Ali greatly assisted him in this office. As for Abu Becr, he preached the truth of Mahomet, became a voucher for all the prophet's visions, his interviews with angels, and his conversations with God.

When the prophet found he had a sufficient number of disciples, he assembled the chief of them at a feast, and addressed them as follows: "I know no one who can offer to mankind any thing more excellent than the laws I present to you this day. I offer you happiness both in this world, and in that which is to come. The Almighty God has commanded me to call you unto him. Who among you will be my assistant, my brother, my vicegerent?" They all hesitated, and were silent. Ali, enflamed by the ardour of youth, arose, and replied, "It is I, oh prophet! I, who will be thy vicegerent. I will dash out the teeth, I will

“tear out the eyes, I will rip up the belly, and
“I will break the legs of all those who shall
“oppose thee.” Mahomet, embracing him,
exclaimed, “This is my vicegerent, submit your-
“selves to him and obey him.” Therefore,
this religion, even in its earliest infancy, shewed
the intolerance and violence of its principles.
Some persons in the assembly laughed at this
speech of the young adept’s; but it encouraged
Mahomet no longer to confine himself to secret
instruction: he began to preach publicly. Some
commended, others blamed him. From this
difference of opinion arose the discord which
prevailed in the tribe of Mahomet, and even in
his own family. The Koreish tormented and
persecuted each other: many of his followers
were obliged to flee into Ethiopia. He himself
remained at Mecca, exposed to the hatred of
the contrary party, and the assaults even of the
populace, who were stirred up by the idolaters
whenever he preached against their worship.
Their animosity became so great, that he
thought it prudent to retire to Tayef, a small
town at the distance of sixty miles, where he
had some relatives; but there he was not better
treated, and he returned to Mecca. During
twelve years, which had elapsed since he had de-
clared himself a prophet in the cave of Mount
Hara, he had had many visions; but none of them
approached the following, of which we will at-

tempt to give an idea: by this we may judge more or less of all the rest. As he was lying in the open air between two hills, near Mecca, the angel Gabriel, accompanied by another celestial spirit, comes to him, opens his heart, squeezes from it the black drop, or principle of original sin, cleanses it, fills it with faith and science, and returns it to its place. Then Gabriel, borne on his seventy pair of wings, brings Mahomet the afs Al Borak, a beast usually rode by prophets. This animal is of a milky whiteness, and equally resembles an afs and a mule, but is larger than the first, and less than the latter. It has a human face, with the jaws of a horse, which is not easy to describe. Its eyes are as brilliant as stars, and piercing as the sun. It has a pair of wings like the eagles': its speed can only be compared to that of lightning. Al Borak understands, reflects, but does not speak; however, when Mahomet was going to mount her, after having pranced and kicked, on Gabriel's saying, "Submit to Mahomet," for a wonder she spoke. "What!" said she, "is this Mahomet, the mediator, the ambassador, and author of the new religion, whose fundamental article is, there is no god, but God?"—"Yes," replies Gabriel, "this is Mahomet, the prince of the children of Adam, the chief of prophets and apostles. He is the seal—his religion is the true

“ one. All men hope to enter into Paradise
“ through his intercession. On his right hand
“ is Paradise, and on his left the flames of hell.
“ Whosoever shall accuse him of falsehood,
“ shall be cast into hell.”—“ Oh, Gabriel!” re-
plies Al Borak, “ I conjure thee, obtain of Ma-
“ homet, that, through his intercession, I may
“ enter into Paradise on the day of the resur-
“ rection.”—“ Be easy, Al Borak,” says the
prophet, “ through my mediation thou shalt be
“ with me in Paradise.” The animal instantly
approaches, presents his back. The prophet
mounts, and sets off. In the twinkling of an
eye he arrives at Jerusalem, enters into the tem-
ple, where he is received with eagerness and
respect by Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. He
leaves Al Borak, and, by a ladder of light, as-
cends with Gabriel to the first heaven, which is
of pure silver. The stars, immense as moun-
tains, are suspended from golden chains. There
he meets a decrepit old man, whom he knows to
be Adam. Adam recommends himself to his
prayers. This heaven is filled with angels in a
variety of shapes, all of them praying for the
animals they resemble. Those who bear the
form of men, pray for mankind. The most ex-
traordinary curiosity of this heaven is, the great
cock, as white as snow, and so tall, that his
head reaches to the second heaven, distant from
the first so vast a space, that it would require

five hundred years to traverse it. This is the chief angel of cocks. His chaunt is so transcendent that it is heard by all the inhabitants of the earth, except man: when he crows, all the cocks on the earth crow with him, and God is singularly delighted with this melody. The second heaven, which is at the distance of five hundred years travelling from the first, is of iron. Mahomet saw there—and what saw he not there, as likewise in all the rest, even to the seventh, composed of diamonds, emeralds, brass, pure gold, and hyacinths? all of them five hundred years journey from each other, but which Mahomet traverses with a speed that does not prevent his remarking whatever is curious, or of importance in each. In one he is called by Jesus and John the most excellent of men and of prophets. He there finds an angel as big as the great cock; but this is a dwarf when compared to that of the third heaven, whose size we are enabled to estimate; for his eyes are at the distance of seventy thousand days journey from each other. An hundred thousand angels are under his command. Seated at a table, with a great book before him, he is continually writing and blotting out. Those whom he writes, are born; those whom he erases, die. Mahomet here is very civilly treated by David and Solomon. In another heaven he is extremely politely treated by the patriarch Joseph, and

two other angels; one of them is in a mourning habit, and weeps incessantly for the sins of mankind. The other, surrounded by a blaze of light, teaches the prophet the different prostrations and motions that are commanded to be used in prayer. Moses, Aaron, Enoch, Abraham, and John the Baptist, take their turns, as one may say, to do him the honours of all these heavens. The most extraordinary of creatures inhabits the sixth; it is a celestial spirit with seventy thousand heads, each head, as one may suppose, having as many mouths, each mouth as many tongues, and each tongue, in a different language appropriate to it, celebrating the praises of the Almighty. The prophet, stunned a little, no doubt, by this concert, passes rapidly on to the seventh, where he finds a tree loaded with large fruit sweeter than honey; and certainly he well deserved this refreshment. An angel likewise presents him three goblets, one filled with milk, one with wine, and one with honey. He prefers the milk. A voice is heard to pronounce these words: "Thou hast made
" a happy choice, Mahomet; hadst thou drank
" wine, the nation would have quitted the
" right road, and its enterprizes would have
" failed." At length he arrives at the throne of the Almighty; on the side of which was traced, in lucid characters, this inscription, which is become the motto of the mussulmen:

“ There is no god but God, and Mahomet is his prophet.” The Eternal then says to him, “ Advance and approach.” He lays one hand on his breast, and the other on his shoulder. This touch spreads through his frame so cold a sensation, that it penetrates even to the marrow of his bones; but the presence of God, at the same time, inspires in him the most ineffable and extatic emotion. The prophet talks familiarly with the Deity, learns from him all that he must teach mankind, repasses the seven heavens, finds Borak at Jerusalem, where he had left her, remounts, and arrives at Mecca: and all this in one night. “ I greatly apprehend,” said Mahomet to Gabriel, “ that my disciples will refuse their belief, and tax me with falsehood, when I shall relate all these wonders to them.”— “ Fear nothing, oh Mahomet,” said the angel, “ Abu Becr (which in Arabic signifies the faithful witness) will justify thee.”

In effect, when Mahomet related the history of his journey to his principal proselytes, they considered it as so ridiculous, that they did all in their power to prevent his speaking of it to the rest of the Koreish; but he refused to listen to them, and even told it to one of his most implacable enemies, who did not fail to turn it into ridicule. Abu Becr came forward again, on this occasion, to his assistance. What this man's powers of persuasion were are not known;

whether eloquence or force, or perhaps both; but he affirmed that there never was any thing more true than the journey and its several incidents: and as the greatest absurdities cease to excite surprize, when once the mind is prepared to receive them, many of the Koreish believed the faithful witness; others apostatized, and there arose a very dangerous schism among the inhabitants of Mecca. Mahomet kept firm to his purpose. "Although my adversaries," said he, "should set the sun on their right hand, and the moon on their left, in league against me, yet will I not relinquish my enterprize." His proselytes were required to take an oath, which was called the women's oath; not that any women were there at that time, but because it was that which was afterwards exacted from them. Its form was to this effect, viz. they should renounce all idolatry; they should not steal; they should not destroy their children, according to the Arabian custom, when they had not sufficient to supply them with food; they should calumniate no one, and they should obey the prophet in all that was just. At that time there was no mention made either of defence or attack: Mahomet, till then, had always declared that his ministry consisted in preaching and exhortation. "I am not," said he, "authorized in forcing any one to embrace my religion; whether they believe or do not be-

“ lieve my word, it is not my affair, but that of
“ God.”

It happened that some missionaries he had sent to Medina, a city of Arabia Felix, near three hundred miles from Mecca, made some most zealous converts. They came, and took an oath of fidelity to Mahomet, promising to defend him against the blacks, and the reds; that is, they intended, and so the prophet understood it, to declare war against all those nations who should oppose the establishment of the new religion. They not only engaged themselves on the defensive, but in open hostilities. Mahomet affirmed that God had permitted him to use both means, and received the oath of these enthusiasts. This species of conspiracy, the divisions which began to reign in Mecca, and which threatened a civil war, alarmed the inhabitants, the principal of whom held a council on what measures they should pursue. The devil, said Mahomet, was there in the disguise of an old man, and induced them to come to a resolution to kill him. He was informed of their intention, and he fled and concealed himself in a cavern, where his life was in danger, and thence escaped to Medina, where he was received in the most honourable manner: at this period, begins the Mussulman era called Hejra, or flight, A. D. 622.

As soon as Mahomet had retired to Medina,

he declared himself at war with the inhabitants of Mecca. He plundered the caravans of that city, and enriched himself with the booty: the Mussulmen historians dignify with the name of battle every little skirmish which took place between two or three hundred men. The most celebrated consisted of three hundred men on one side, and nine hundred on the other, the latter embarrassed with all the baggage of a caravan. Mahomet attacked them with his three hundred warriors; but his personal prowess is not mentioned on this occasion: it is only observed, that before the battle, he prayed to God with great fervour, and fell into a swoon, during which he assured his followers, that God had promised them the victory. He then took a handful of dust, which he threw at the enemy, exclaiming, "May they be confounded!" and they were dispersed, like the dust carried away by the wind. The prophet was never in want of divine inspiration. Sometimes it visited him in his dreams, sometimes it was communicated on written leaves, which were sent him from heaven whenever he thought proper. These leaves afterwards composed the Koran, the gospel of the mahometans. Rites, ceremonies, ablutions; on which side to turn during prayer; the Ramadan, that fast so severe all day, and so licentious for its gluttony and pleasures all night; every thing was foreseen, and regulated in these leaves. He

even made use of them to authorize peace, war, or revenge; and to sanctify whatever might be reprehensible, or capricious in his own actions. In respect to polygamy, as a good legislator, he gave both the precept and example: he married twelve wives, although the laws permit but four lawful ones. Ayesha, Abu Becr's daughter, whom he took at eight years old, becoming a little more experienced, gave him some suspicions, but he prudently determined that his enemies should not rejoice at it, for he proscribed in a chapter in the Alcoran upon calumny.

By another revelation, he was authorized, to the great scandal of all good mussulmen, to marry the wife of Zeid, his adopted son, who out of complaisance to his father, separated himself from his beloved spouse. At last being surprized by two of his wives, with one of his servants named Mary, he called down from heaven a permission to violate engagements, even ratified by oath. It is thought that it was on account of the danger to which he was exposed at a gambling party, with some intoxicated men, that he prohibited, by revelation also, all strong liquors, and games of chance; with regard to his not permitting his disciples to eat pork, that he took from the jewish law. Notwithstanding, Mahomet was not on perfectly good terms with this nation. In a war, which he carried on against

the Jews of Kaibar, not far from Medina, he pretended to have been bewitched by one of them. The angel Gabriel taught him how to break the charm, spread by the yew, over him and his two daughters. Of what artifice did not the prophet make use to render his enemies odious, and always was the interposition of the Deity employed for his assistance! it failed him, however, in a battle, in which he was overthrown, struck by two arrows, one of which wounded him, and his life was in great danger; a proof that he could expose his person when occasion required; a method which ought never to be neglected by every usurper who wishes to succeed. People of all religions, attracted by his success, enlisted under his banners, and became his profelytes. He failed not to join the resources of commerce, to his plunder of the caravans, and inroads on his neighbours. He sent agents, who were also spies, into all the chief towns, even as far as to Constantinople, to give him notice of the departure of the caravans. Already he invited foreign princes to embrace his religion, and he uttered menaces, which were often followed with effect, against those who contemned him. With respect to his disciples, a single glance would make them tremble; never did they approach him but with the most profound veneration, and tokens of respect, almost idolatrous.

The inhabitants of Mecca were a long time before they submitted to this species of adoration. Their faith in the prophet had always been wavering: they even drove him from their walls, when he wished to enter the town, to practise round the Caaba the ceremonious rites he had invented. Returning better accompanied, his countrymen left him in possession of the place, and retired to the neighbouring mountains. He found the houses empty, and fulfilled the duties of his pilgrimage, without committing any disorder. Another time, he took them by force of arms, and pardoned them. These instances of generosity gained him the hearts of the Koreish, the principal of the Arabian tribes, and the others followed the example. He then returned to Mecca in great pomp, and carried off the idols from the Caaba, which had been preserved there from time immemorial. What these gods were that the Arabians adored is not known; they resembled neither the Egyptian, Greek, nor Scythian: it is supposed they were some attributes of the godhead personified. Mahomet banished them from all Arabia. It is but just to admit his zeal for the unity of the Deity, which tenet he established throughout all the countries he subdued. In about sixteen years which had elapsed since his flight from Mecca, he conquered the greater part of Arabia Felix, and laid the founda-

tion of one of the most extensive empires that ever existed, and which still exists.

He died at Medina at seventy years of age, of an illness occasioned, it is said, by the remains of a subtle poison, administered to him some years before. His tomb is to be seen in this city, which the mussulmen visit as a simple act of devotion; but the pilgrimage to Mecca is enjoined them as an indispensable duty. Once in the course of his life every mussulman is obliged to perform this journey, or to engage some one to go in his stead, or to free himself from it by alms.

It signifies little for us to know that Mahomet was of a middle size, well proportioned, and of a sanguine constitution; that he had a great head, a bushy beard, strong bones, large black eyes, florid complexion, masculine and regular features, thick eyebrows, fine teeth, a wide mouth, and good hair, according to some, straight, and others curled: all these particulars are very indifferent. But it is not so to be able to discover by what means, with a boundless ambition, inordinate desires, an entire indulgence in all his passions; how by the aid of absurd visions, and ridiculous miracles, such as his splitting the moon; how, in fine, destitute of learning, for it is even said he could not read, he was able to persuade the Arabs, a nation, it is true, not cultivated, but wanting neither in sagacity nor

sense, that he was a privileged being, the friend of God, the apostle, the prophet by excellence.

Mahomet, it is true, possessed many of those qualities which are necessary to make an extraordinary man; valour, eloquence, and perseverance. In his undertakings an air of affability or command, according to the circumstance, the art of gaining friends, and the much more rare art of preserving them; but that which distinguishes him, and ensured his success, was not the conviction—for a man cannot persuade himself of these things—but the undeviating and constant attention he always observed in appearing convinced, that he was the man of God. Day and night, in the midst of business or dissipation, with the army, at table, in company with his wives, never did he forget the inspired character he had assumed. Even natural events, apparently the least likely to assist him, he made subservient to his purpose. Epileptic fits, to which he was subject, he converted into extatic visions, and a wen between his shoulders he called the seal of prophecy.

The habit he had acquired of never losing sight of his object, never permitting himself in his most susceptible moments, neither word nor action capable of undeceiving those who were present, left them no means to escape his seduction. Appearing to be convinced, he convinced. Their belief grew from esteem. The smallest

doubt he made a punishable crime. This opinion has been preserved with energy by his disciples, from his address in joining in his profession of faith two things, of which one is incontestable, and serves as a sort of passport to the other:—There is one God, and Mahomet is his prophet.

Two days before his death, notwithstanding the weak and languid state to which a burning fever had reduced him, he preached, and performed public prayer, in quality of Caliph and Iman, that is, as chief of the government and sovereign pontiff.

As the throne and the altar ennoble those who belong to them, Mahomet, in possession of both, has made things worthy the observation of his followers, which would have been disregarded in others. They have preserved the memory of his courtiers, his friends, of their employments, of those who had greater or less access to him, his wives and concubines, their beauty and defects. His asses, horses, and camels, have all been enumerated, and particularized by name. His chariots, his arms, his furniture, have been described: in fine, all that concerns his animal, even secret functions, his hours of repast, of rising, of lying down, his exactness, and punctuality in every thing, nothing has been omitted.

The doctors and commentators have found an inexhaustible theme in the privileges and

prerogatives of their prophet. All pious muf-
men fpend a part of the day in counting
them, while they roll between their fingers the
beads of a large chaplet, which hangs from their
neck. This litany, which we will confiderably
abridge, is nearly in thefe terms: Mahomet,
the laft of the prophets in the order of creation,
is the firft in the order of the miffion. His name
is written on all the gates of paradise. The
devil was caft out at his birth. He vifited the
feven heavens. Mahomet was fuperior to all
men in genius and wifdom. He performed three
thoufand miracles, without reckoning the Alcor-
ran, which contains fixty thoufand in itfelf, fince
every verfe is a miracle. He cleft the moon.
At his command, ftones and trees have fpoken.
Fountains of pure water have gushed from his
fingers. God divides with him his bleffings.
God has ordered the univerfe to obey him. All
the earth belongs to him. Before him, it was
ftained by the chriftians, by the idolaters, and
the Jews. He purified it by his doctrine. Ma-
homet intituted prayer, the cuftom of wafhing
the hands after meals, making a hollow on one
fide of the tomb, the fafhion of wearing turbans
with fteamers hanging from behind, a mark of
difinction even among the angels. His family
are exempt from taxes. Although polluted by
the ardour of his conftitution, never did he lofe
his purity. Mahomet enjoyed prerogatives de-

nied to every other person; he was allowed the company of his wife on a fast day; to marry more than four wives; to commit murder in all the sacred territory, even in Mecca; to judge according to his will; to receive presents from the clients, and to parcel out lands even before he became in possession of them. Whatever was best among the spoil taken from the enemy was his right. Celestial spirits obeyed him. The angel of death did not take his soul till he first had asked his permission.

As the people of Medina were ignorant of this circumstance, they could not persuade themselves that the prophet had undergone the fate of other mortals. Omar, one of his most enthusiastic captains, exclaimed: "No, the apostle of God is not dead; he is gone only for a time, as Moses was, when he quitted the Israelites during forty days, and then returned to his people." He swore he would extirpate all those who should say, that the missionary of God was dead. But Abu Becr, father-in-law to the prophet, prudently made it appear by the Alcoran itself that he was to die; and the putridity which began to affect the corpse was a demonstrative proof to the people, who ceased to be shocked, since it was foretold. His power and dignities, had there been a right of succession, ought to have devolved to Ali, his son-in-law; but the public choice, after balancing some time between

Omar and Abu Becr, at length prevailed for the latter, and Ali himself acknowledged him.

The prophet, with so many wives, had but one son, who died very young.

Abu Becr,
1st Caliph,
632.

In the time of Mahomet there had arisen men rivals of his power, whom the prophet had defeated; but one survived him, a very dangerous one, named Moseilama, the chief of a powerful tribe. It is said, that he assisted Mahomet in his imposture; but determined not to be his inferior, and aspiring to a division of the empire, he wrote to him as follows: "Moseilama the apostle of God, to Mahomet the apostle of God. Let half the earth be thine, and the other half mine." Mahomet answered him: "Mahomet the apostle of God, to Moseilama the impostor. The earth belongs to God. He has given it as an inheritance to those of his servants who please him, and those who fear him shall have good success." This good success, Moseilama endeavoured to obtain. He gained more territory than he lost during the few months he survived Mahomet; but Abu Becr sent a superior force against him, and overcame him. The caliph also stifled some revolts which had been fermented by the different schisms, the collecting taxes, and some disputes on religious tenets, sufficiently violent to threaten, for a short time, a total dissolution of the empire. There even appeared pro-

phetesses, whose arts of seduction might have proved fatal to islamism, had they not been suppressed immediately.

These conflicts gave rise to a new degree of fervour among the mussulmen who remained faithful. They made it a point of honour to propagate their religion, and to extend it, if in their power, throughout the whole earth. Abu Becr was a proper person to direct this enterprize: he shewed a profound respect to the memory of the prophet, appeared convinced of the truth of his mission, and was extremely exact in the observance of the most minute ceremonies.

This caliph does not seem to have been himself a warrior; but he had great generals, among whom was Kaled, who joined to valour much military skill, and above all was so furiously zealous, that he persecuted whatever was not mussulman. He had a son, named Said, endowed with the same qualities. At the head of his other captains, of whom the enumeration would be long, we must place Yezid, Obeidah, Derar, Rasii, and Serjabil, all intrepid soldiers, and alternately absolute commanders and docile subalterns. Abu Becr knew the art of inspiring his army with that enthusiasm which insures success. His troops considered themselves as so many missionaries, appointed to plant the faith in the surrounding countries, to erect the

crescent on the ruins of the cross, at the risk of their lives, certain of the crown of martyrdom, and the joys of paradise, if they died in the cause of their religion.

Their camps were like great mosques, where prayers were performed, at the appointed hours, with as much devotion as the business of war would allow. No licentiousness, no tumults, existed in the armies, although there were a great number of women; they marched and fought by the side of their fathers, their brothers, their husbands, as patient as themselves in fatigue, and as intrepid in danger. One spirit, that of making proselytes, animated all the troops. Abu Becr took care to preserve it by the pathetic exhortations he sent the chiefs, and which were read at the head of each battalion. A letter, a single billet, would create him armies. He wrote to Mecca only these words: "This letter is to inform you, that I intend to take Syria out of the hands of the infidels; and I wish you to know, that in fighting for the propagation of the true religion you obey the will of God." The people of Mecca ran in crouds, encamped round Medina, and remained there, notwithstanding the scarcity of provisions, till the mussulman army was complete, and ready to march.

At the moment of departure, Abu Becr, in sight of the whole army, addressed a prayer to

the Almighty, to fill him with courage, and grant him a happy issue. Then turning to the general, he said: "Yezid, be careful to treat
" your troops with affection and kindness. Consult your officers on all important occasions.
" Encourage your soldiers to combat valiantly
" and firmly. Should you gain the victory, do
" not put to death either old men, women, or
" children. Do not destroy the palm-trees,
" Neither burn the corn, nor cut down trees,
" nor do any harm to the cattle, except what
" you kill to feed your people. When you
" make any treaty or agreement, inviolably
" keep your word. Do not murder the monks,
" let them live in their monasteries; and do
" not destroy the places where they have devoted themselves to the service of God. But
" for those tonsured members of the synagogue
" of Satan, cleave their heads asunder, unless
" they either became mussulmen, or pay tribute." By these tonsured members, he most probably meant the christian priests, who by their exhortations and zeal greatly retarded the propagation of mahometism.

The alternative of becoming mussulmen, paying tribute, or suffering death, was not confined to the chiefs of religion, it equally comprized all those whom the mussulman arms could reach. From Arabia, which was entirely subdued, they penetrated into Syria, as

far as the fertile plains of Damascus. This place was enabled to hold out a long siege, because the emperor Heraclius sent forces to its assistance. Two mussulman generals attacked it on opposite sides, and while Obeidah entered through one gate by capitulation, Kaled stormed the other. They met in the town, the one treating the inhabitants with kindness and humanity, the other carrying devastation with fire and sword. Ready to rush on each other, they came to an agreement that they should both have the liberty of pursuing the conduct they chose: so that Damascus exhibited the singular spectacle of a city, one part of which, suffering all the horrors of war, resounded with the shrieks of despair, while the other loaded with blessings its compassionate conqueror.

The Alcoran.

Abu Becr's reign was not quite of three years' duration. He is celebrated not only for his conquests, which are extraordinary for so short a space, but more for the great service he rendered the mussulman religion, by compiling the Alcoran. It consists of those leaves which Mahomet asked from heaven as he wanted them, and others which he composed in private, to serve on some emergency. As the prophet could not read, it is said, that his secretary sometimes inserted notes of his own, which disfigured the text, and even made it ridiculous. It was necessary to free it from these interpola-

tions, which was not easy; to collect whatever was mislaid, or if lost, to supply it by the aid of memory, and the tradition of the elders. Abu Becr took all this trouble with the most scrupulous attention. His labour has produced one hundred and fourteen chapters, divided nearly according to their different subjects. Such is the Koran, the sacred volume of the mahometans, whose style say they, is inimitable, "a permanent miracle, greater than the resurrection of the dead." They have another book, containing the words and deeds of the prophet, named the Sonna, less divine, but highly respected.

The mahometan religion, unlike almost every other, has neither oblations nor sacrifices. All its rites consist in sermons, prayers, and purifications; to which may be added, circumcision for both sexes, the Ramadam, which is the month set apart for fasting, and the pilgrimage to Mecca, once during life. Mahomet in founding his political laws on the sacred code has rendered them religious, and by that means has insured them more force and permanence than if he had made them merely civil. If he prescribe duties on contracts between individuals, whether marriage, divorce, inheritance, punishment, treaties with foreign nations, or any other object of natural right, or simple agreement, it is all done in the name of

God; the administration of justice, alms, loans without usury, the ransoming of captives, and other praise-worthy actions, are all insisted on as the command of God, as well as the prohibitive laws, which require his followers to abstain from some kinds of meat, from inebriating liquors, from all games of chance, and from the study of divination.

Predestination, or Fatalism, was of the greatest assistance to Mahomet. If he were told that one of his disciples was just dead in battle, he would reply: "His days were numbered; the angel of death would have struck him at the same hour in his own house." This opinion made them, since they must die, prefer meeting death in the field of glory, where with a serene brow they could look on the raised poniard just ready to strike a mortal blow, firmly persuaded they were going to receive the crown of martyrdom, and the rewards attached to it. "The reward of every believer, was seventy most beautiful women; a tent of incomparable costliness; a prodigious number of servants; an astonishing variety of viands, served in golden dishes; several kinds of delicious liquors, presented in goblets of the same metal; the choicest wines, free from all intoxicating qualities; an assortment of magnificent dresses, suitable to the sumptuousness of the table; a numerous retinue; in fine, all that can flatter the sensuality of the greatest voluptuary; and, to be

able to enjoy them, endless renovated youth and strength. Such is the mahometan paradise. It is said, that the well-informed mussulmen give very little faith to these chimerical promises; but the people!—oh simple people, how ye are deceived!

Omar, who had been the competitor of Abu ^{Omar, 2d Caliph} Becr, succeeded him. The deceased Caliph ⁶³⁴ left but three drachmas in money. When an account of this treasure was given to Omar, he exclaimed, "God forgive Abu Becr; he has set an example to his successors very hard for them to follow." This disinterested pontiff used to say, "Good actions are a defence against adversity,"—"Death is the most trifling thing in the world when it has happened, and the most terrible of all things before it does happen." Omar took the title of Emperor, or Commander of the Faithful, which has been continued by his successors.

One would be inclined to think, that a prince who had conquered the finest part of Syria, who saw victory always enlisted under his banners, become by the force of arms sovereign of Mesopotamia, all Judea, Egypt, and the most flourishing towns of that country, Antioch, Emesa, and Alexandria; who entered triumphantly into Jerusalem; whose army, after many sanguinary battles, penetrated into Persia, and even shook the throne,—it is natural to think that such a prince

must have been a great warrior. But Omar did not even head his troops. He sent orders from Medina, his place of abode, in the sententious style of the Alcoran; and not only his generals regulated themselves by them, but even the soldiery submitted to them with the most pious resignation. The army commanded by Obeidah gave a signal proof of this. The general had written to the caliph, that since their being in Syria his troops had used themselves to drink wine. Omar ordered the guilty to be punished with eighty strokes on the soles of their feet. The general informed them of this sentence, and exhorted those who were conscious of guilt to voluntarily confess their fault, and prove the sincerity of their repentance by patiently submitting to the chastisement imposed by the caliph. A great number acknowledged their fault, and suffered the punishment, without any other accuser than their conscience. This Obeidah was Omar's favourite general: he preferred him to Kaled, whom he degraded. "Obeidah," said he, "is good and moderate, and always has behaved with kindness towards the Mussulmen; whereas Kaled is of a ferocious and untractable disposition, greedy of plunder, and guilty of many excesses. God himself will guide the designs of so virtuous a man as Obeidah, and will assist and bless his mild and gentle measures." Kaled's disgrace did

not prevent him from serving. He distinguished in Omar, two distinct persons. "I have," said he, "a natural aversion from him; but I submit to the will of God, expressed by the caliph, the lawful successor of Mahomet." With such sentiments, which the caliph well knew, what might he not expect from his soldiers and their chiefs? He took great care to wean their affections from every object which could attach them to this world. He wrote to Obeidah, as follows: "I command thee to put thy trust in God, and not to be among the number of those, of whom he sayeth, If your fathers, or your children, or your brethren, or your wives, or your relations, or the riches you have acquired, or the merchandize you fear you shall not sell, or the houses in which you take delight, are dearer to you than God and his apostle, and the progress of his religion, tremble lest he fulfil against you that he hath resolved."

If we wish to know what right the Arabs pretended to have to Syria, the finest part of their conquests, it will be found in a conversation between Amru, one of Omar's generals, and Constantine, the son of Heraclius. "The Greeks and the Arabs being near relations," said this prince, "are to blame to go to war." "If even they were brethren," replied the Arab, "if their religion be different, that is a sufficient

“ reason to go to war; but I am ignorant of
“ the relationship between the Koreish and
“ the Greeks.” Constantine replied: “ Adam;
“ Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Esau, were the
“ fathers of the Greeks and Arabs: they are
“ then relations, and should not quarrel about
“ the land which their fore-fathers divided
“ among them.” “ That is true,” said Amru,
“ but that division no longer exists. The coun-
“ try you possess does not belong to you: it was
“ inhabited by the Amalekites before you, and
“ they were the descendants of Shem, and so
“ are we. We claim the inheritance of our
“ brethren: we only intend to put things on
“ their former footing, and take possession of
“ your fertile fields, your rich pasturage, your
“ fine rivers, your magnificent houses; and we
“ will give you in exchange our rocks, our
“ deserts, our dry and barren lands, which were
“ the share of Ham and Japhet, from whom
“ you are descended.” Constantine insisted on
their long possession, which annulled every other
title. “ You are very right,” answered Amru;
“ but we find Syria so charming a country, in
“ comparison of ours, that we shall never consent
“ to quit it; but absolutely resolve to make our-
“ selves masters of it: however, you have two
“ ways of remaining peaceable possessors of your
“ immense wealth; either by embracing islam-
“ ism, or paying the tribute we require of

“infidels.” With such arguments, supported by a powerful army, what might not be achieved?

The motive the mahometans assigned for taking possession of Jerusalem was much of the same sort. It was, said they, the holy city, whence the prophet set off on his journey to the seven heavens; and it was very improper that it should remain in the hands of the infidels. The inhabitants obtained leave to resign it only to Omar himself. He condescended to undertake the journey, and they had great reason to applaud his kindness and justice. According to the maxims of the musselmen, every place where the caliph had prayed belonged to him; he therefore had the delicacy not to pray in the church; and he gave the christians, without solicitation, a written protection against the invasion of his successors. The capitulation he granted them contains many privileges for the christians in the city, and is the foundation of those they enjoy under the Turkish government. Omar deserves the more praise for this action, because he was an enthusiast, who saw science and wisdom only in the mahometan religion, and had no idea how any person could profess another. His sentiments on this subject are but too well known, from the destruction of the famous Alexandrian library, which had been half destroyed by accident under Cæsar. When Amru his general

enquired what was to be done with what remained, Omar replied: "If the books of which you speak agree with what is written in the book of God, that is sufficient, and all others are useless; if they contain doctrines contrary to this divine book, they should be regarded as pernicious, and should be destroyed." Amru therefore employed the books in heating the baths of Alexandria, which were four thousand in number, and which they constantly supplied with fuel during six months.

This dreadful effect of fanaticism has already been mentioned, but it is repeated here as a useful lesson to shew that fanaticism, whether in religion, the cause of liberty, or any other object, is always destructive.

The people of Medina were apprehensive that Omar, attracted by the charms of Palestine, would abandon them, and fix his seat of empire at Jerufalem. The descriptions left us by the historians of those times of the plains of Judea, its fertility, and numerous towns, enriched by commerce, correspond with those of the sacred writings, and convince us that the Jewish authors have been unjustly suspected of exaggerating the delights of this country: "a land flowing with milk and honey."

What are now, under the dominion of the Turks, the countries watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates? Is it because these rivers, intercepted in their course by the ruins of bridges,

have inundated the plains, and formed miry swamps; because the vestiges of the magnificent towns which formerly adorned them are scarcely visible; or because in those parts which have been discovered the only inhabitants are hordes of wandering Arabs, whose sight is to be dreaded? Are these sufficient reasons to conclude that this country was not the most fertile and the best peopled in the world? The same may be said with respect to Judea.

On Omar's departure for Jerusalem, he visited the tomb of Mahomet, and appointed Ali his lieutenant during his absence. He mounted a dun camel, loaded with two bags: one contained his sawick, a mixture of barley, rice, and wheat, boiled and cleaned; the other was filled with fruit. Before him he carried a leather bottle full of water—a necessary article in these sandy countries—and behind him a wooden dish. He began the day with prayer; then turning to his travelling companions, addressed them in a short exhortation intermixed with pious ejaculations, filled his dish with sawick, and regaled them with it: they all ate with him without any distinction. When he was not on a journey, his usual food consisted of barley-bread, seasoned with a little salt; and frequently, by way of mortification, he even ate it without. His drink was water; and his clothes were interwoven with camels' hair in great disorder, and even torn. There

never was any thing so slovenly as his appearance. The motive of this negligence of the caliph's, whether real or affected, is found in a conversation between Heraclius and Rafaa, an Arabian prisoner; and since Omar is the person spoken of, no wonder that his motives were more worthy of an ascetic than of an emperor.

Heraclius questioned him in this manner: "Why is Omar dressed in so simple a garb, so different from the custom of princes; he who has taken such vast treasures from the christians?" Rafaa replied: "From the fear of God, and a value for the life to come."

"In what sort of a palace does he dwell?" "In a palace built of earth. Who are his domestics? The poor and needy. On what carpet does he sit? Upon justice and equity. What is his throne? Moderation, and the knowledge of truth. His treasures? His trust in God. His guards? The bravest of the unitarians." The mussulmen took this title, in opposition to the christians, whom they called associators, from the doctrine of the trinity. Rafaa terminated this conversation with this trait of monkish modesty: "Know, that many persons have said to Omar: 'You who possess the treasures of the Cæsars, who have kings and princes subjected to your power, why do you not wear costly apparel?'" Omar replied: "You seek the good things of this world; but

“ I seek the favour of him who is sovereign of
“ this world, and of the world to come.”

The oriental historians describe Omar as generous, beneficent, and a strict observer of justice, which he dispensed with the greatest impartiality. “ His cane,” say they, “ or his walking
“ staff, inspired more awe in the guilty than
“ the sword of another man.” This severe equity cost him his life. A slave, named Lulua, came to complain of his master; Omar thought the accusation unfounded. Lulua withdrew, murmuring insolently, and menaced him. “ This
“ slave,” exclaimed the emperor, “ dares to
“ threaten me; if I were capable of putting any
“ one to death only on suspicion, I should instantly have him beheaded.” A short time afterwards, as Omar was reciting the morning prayers in the mosque of Medina, the slave approached, and gave him three stabs in the belly. His attendants attempted to seize him, but he defended himself like a desperado, wounded thirteen, and seven of them mortally. One of those who surrounded him threw his cloke over his head, when finding himself taken, he plunged his dagger into his breast, and expired.

During three days that Omar survived his being wounded, his courtiers and ministers solicited him to appoint a successor, and proposed several persons to him, but he rejected them all. One was not grave enough, another too avaricious.

cious, a third savage and unforgiving, a fourth too proud and haughty. In his opinion, the successor of the prophet ought to be affable and full of condescension. His son was mentioned to him. "Ah!" said he, "it is sufficient that one man in a family is obliged to give an account of a charge so arduous as the office of caliph." He named six electors, who were to chuse after his death. One of them offered to resign his dignities, if the rest would permit him to make the choice; they consented, and after secretly consulting the wish of the people, he appointed Othman, whom Omar, though he knew him possessed of the requisite qualities in other respects, had rejected, because he was too much inclined to favour his friends and favourites.

Othman,
3d Caliph,
645.

In the reign of Othman, the mussulmen took possession of the finest provinces of Persia, strengthened themselves in Egypt, settled colonies in Cyprus, and, it is thought, even got footing in Spain. These conquests were all obtained by his generals, notwithstanding the dissensions which prevailed at the court of Othman. Omar was not mistaken when he feared that, should he ascend the throne, his predilection for his friends and relatives in his distribution of offices would be fatal to him. He gave the government of Egypt to his foster-brother, who could not be young, since Othman was

seventy years old when he was raised to the dignity of caliph. He was appointed to this government to the prejudice of Amru, who had conquered the kingdom, and was greatly beloved for his mild and equitable administration. On the loud and reiterated complaint of the people, the emperor was obliged to reinstate Amru, and even make a new election to several other posts, where his former choice had brought him into disesteem.

The people, as is usually the case, threw on him all the blame due to his ministers and generals, some of whom were incapable of, and others traitors to, their trust. Othman felt the consequence of his imprudent conduct. He publicly acknowledged it, promised to reform, and regained the affections of his subjects: but there were sinister designs formed against him, from which his repentance could not protect him.

At Omar's death, two factions had arisen: one headed by Ali, cousin and son-in-law to Mahomet, who aspired to the office of caliph after the prophet's decease; the other by Ayesha, his widow, whom he had loved more than all his wives, who aimed at setting Jelha, her relation, on the throne.

It was, it seems, to obviate the dangers of this contest, that they were both rejected, and Othman chosen. As he was in years, the rival factions agreed to this arrangement, flattering them-

selves that the time was not distant when they might renew their pretensions: but all the uneasiness they caused the old man was in vain, grief could not kill him; and though his subjects whispered their discontent, they still respected him. Other means then were necessary to deprive him of this kind of trust which he kept too long. Merwan, his secretary, who was concerned in Ayesha's cabal, became the instrument of the most diabolical plot that the human mind can conceive. Othman, had just pardoned some of the Egyptian rebels, and sent them back well pleased to their own country. Merwan, in his master's name, wrote to the governor as follows:—"As soon as such and such persons, whom he named, arrive in Egypt, do not fail to cut off their hands and feet, and impale them." The villain contrived that the letter should fall into the hands of the party threatened. The Egyptians, furious with rage, returned to Medina, where Ali, who was on the spot, made some feeble efforts in the caliph's defence. Othman was inhumanly massacred at the age of eighty-two, after a reign of twelve years, glorious in appearance; but the joy of his foreign victories, was continually imbibed by his domestic vexations. He was brave, magnificent, generous, and liberal. Less confidence in traitors, and a better choice of friends, would have contributed more, than his

great qualities, to his own happiness, and that of his subjects.

Ayesha was not at Medina when Othman was assassinated, and her absence obliged her party to assist in electing Ali. He shewed great unwillingness, either real or affected, to accept the sovereignty. "I would rather," said he, "serve a master, in the quality of vizier or prime minister, than myself take charge of the empire." This resistance was carried so far that the people menaced him with death, if he refused to be enthroned. The ceremony was performed publicly in the grand mosque; Yelha, Ayesha's favourite, and Zobeir, another pretender, were the first to do him homage, but were not long in proving their hatred. Ayesha, if she were not concerned in Othman's death, at least had wished it, that she might see Yelha in his place. Disappointed in her hopes, she sent for him and Zobeir, the other competitor, to join her; but not finding themselves able to cope with Ali, who had the suffrage of the public, the cabal agreed to set up Moawiyah, the governor of Syria, in opposition to him. Ali had the imprudence when he ascended the throne to recal this governor; but the latter being too powerful to obey, he from that time became an implacable enemy, and a dangerous rival. The people must have a pretext: there was one wanting: that which they fixed on, was an in-

Ali, 4th
Caliph,
655.

finuation that Ali had been accessary to the murder of Othman. The little exertion he had used in his defense gave some colour to this accusation; but it was much more probable that the crime was concerted by those who, during the caliph's reign, had endeavoured to deprive him of the affection of his subjects, than by Ali, who had conciliated them. However, this charge, adroitly managed, prevailed. Ayeshah raised the standard of rebellion at Mecca. The pious musfulmen ran and enrolled themselves beneath the banners of the mother of the true believers. She began her march attended by Yelha and Zobeir, intending to join Moawiyah in Syria: Ali intercepted their route, and a dreadful battle ensued. The widow of Mahomet, mounted on a camel, rode through the ranks, haranguing her troops. She was in the thickest of the affray: "Her litter resembled a porcupine, it was so bristled round with spears and arrows." Her camel was hamstrung, and she remaining on the field was taken prisoner, and presented to Ali. He received her with great marks of distinction and respect, and contented himself with confining her to her house at Mecca, with orders that she should no more meddle with affairs of state.

Yelha was mortally wounded by the secretary Morwan, who confessed to Ali, that it was this favourite of Ayeshah's who had planned

Othman's death. Zobeir, her other chief, was overtaken in his flight and beheaded.

Ali then turned his arms against Moawiyah, and gained many advantages. The rebel must have been defeated, had not Amru, one of his captains, suggested a stratagem to induce Ali's troops to desert him. Moawiyah, according to his advice, ordered several alcorans to be fastened to the points of some lances, and carried at the head of the army; while the bearers cried in a loud voice: "This is the book which ought to adjust all disputes: here is placed between you and us the book of God, which absolutely forbids the shedding of mussulman blood." At this sight, Ali's troops refused to engage, and insisted on their chiefs consenting to an arbitration, which should decide between him and Moawiyah. His soldiers would not even permit him to chuse his umpire, but obliged him to take Abu Musa, a person of weak intellects, who had already betrayed him twice; while Moawiyah was allowed to have Amru, a man of abilities and firmness of character; and who had invented the expedient of the alcorans.

Amru, perfectly acquainted with the genius of his colleague, managed him so well, that he in a short time became his master. He persuaded him, that to establish peace in the mussulman empire, it was necessary to depose both Ali and Moawiyah, and elect a new caliph,

who should be agreeable to all parties. This important point settled, a tribunal was raised between the two armies, on which both the arbitrators were to publish their decision. Amru adjudged to Abu Musa the honour of speaking first. He mounted, and pronounced these words: "I depose Ali, and Moawiyah likewise, and I take the throne from them, as I do this ring from my finger." Amru then arose, and said: "You have just heard Abu Musa depose Ali:—I, also, depose him, and I invest Moawiyah with the sovereign power, as I put this ring upon my finger."—He added some argument in favour of his candidate, and reverted to the perfidious insinuations relative to the share Ali was suspected to have had in the murder of Othman. Abu Musa complained loudly of his colleague's treachery, and Ali protested against it; but though no one was deceived by this artifice, yet the number of Ali's partisans were diminished, and those of Moawiyah augmented by it. The governors of the provinces divided with the two rivals according to their interest, and the war became more sanguinary than before.

Two devout but wild enthusiasts, moved by the miseries the war occasioned, and believing that every act was sanctioned which would prevent a further effusion of Mussulman blood, agreed to attempt it, by a more certain method than arbitration. "If Ali, and Moawiyah," said they, "those false imans, were both dead, the

“moslem affairs would prosper: let us endeavour
“to rid ourselves of them.” They separated,
firmly determined to sacrifice themselves in the
cause of religion. Moawiyah was stabbed by
one of them, but the wound was not mortal.
Ali received a blow from the other, which
would have had no fatal consequence, had not
the assassin provided himself with a poisoned
dagger. Ali at his death was upwards of sixty
years of age, and had reigned five years.

The reign of Ali forms a remarkable epocha
in the moslem history, on account of the schism
which then arose, and which still exists. The
partisans of Ali, consider Abu Becr, Omar, and
Othman, the three first caliphs, as intruders and
usurpers. The appellation of Shiites, meaning
sectaries, which their adversaries gave them as
a mark of contempt, they regard as a title of
honour. But the opponents of Ali consider him
as a false iman. They call themselves Sonnites or
traditionaries, because they follow the traditions,
whereas the shiites acknowledge the alcoran
only, which, however, the sonnites accuse them
of having corrupted. They also style themselves
Omniades, from Omar and Othman, whom they
hold in veneration. These two parties hate and
anathematize each other as the most abominable
of all heretics, more ignorant of the truth than
even the Christians and the Jews. At present
all Persia, part of the princes of Tartary, and
some of the kings of Judea, are shiites or sec-

taries of Ali. The Turks, and other mahometans, are sonnites and ottomans, or disciples of Othman. These two principal branches of islamism are divided into a multitude of different sects, which it would be difficult to enumerate. Ali was courageous, pious, humane, compassionate. His enemies even allow him those qualities. He wanted only the vigour and firmness necessary to govern. Had he been less inclined to conciliatory measures, he most probably would have been more successful.

Hafan,
5th Caliph,
606.

Hafan, the eldest of his children, who were very numerous, succeeded him. He was better adapted by his disposition to the retired walks of life, than to hold the reins of government. After a dreadful slaughter, the mangled remains of which he could not behold without horror, scattered over the field of battle, he resigned the sovereign power to Moawiyah, reserving to himself it is thought the quality of iman. Moawiyah eager to unite the two titles which properly constitute the caliphate, caused him to be poisoned.—Hafan was very generous: half the revenue he enjoyed, he distributed in alms. This prince possessed in an eminent degree, the mild and social virtues which insure the happiness of private life. His gentle and amiable manners endeared him greatly, from his earliest infancy, to the prophet, his grandfather. Kind towards every person, he seems to have had the common defect of such characters, that of no

solid attachment, for he often repudiated his wives, who, apparently grateful for the affection he had shewn them, still preserved some partiality for him even after their divorce.

During the reign of Mahomet's fifth successor, Moawiyah, 6th Caliph, 660. many of his courtiers, generals, and ministers, still lived. The remainder of the prophet's cotemporaries disappeared under Moawiyah. He was the son of a great general of the Koreish tribe, to which the caliphate appeared exclusively to belong. He had therefore a sort of right to this dignity; but that would not have been of much avail, had he not been able to enforce it by his ability in the council, and his valour in the field. It is also evident from the fate of Hasan that he was by no means delicate with respect to the mode of removing any obstacles that might oppose his designs; and steel sometimes, in similar circumstances, served him as effectually as poison. All his enterprizes were powerfully seconded by his natural brother Ziyad, the most absolute of all men in command, and the most exact in enforcing obedience. Moawiyah usually sent him into the countries the most difficult to govern: his reputation for severity preceded him, and prepared the way for the most implicit submission. Commissioned to clear the country of Basra from the robbers who infested it, which his predecessors had in vain attempted, he began with the capital; forbade, under pain of death, any person

being seen in the streets, or public places, after the hour of evening prayers. The first night two hundred were killed by the patrol; the second, five persons; and the third, not even one. After this exploit he commanded each individual to have the door of his house open, promising himself to become responsible for whatever damage might be sustained, but none ensued, except what was caused by the cattle entering some of the shops, which he then permitted to be closed with a hurdle. A poor shepherd passing with his flock through the city after the fatal hour, was seized and taken to Ziyad. He pleaded his ignorance of the order. "I willingly believe thee," said the governor, "but the safety of this place depends on thy death; thou must be sacrificed for the public good;" and he commanded him to be beheaded. His lieutenant, Samrah, was as merciless as himself.—Being in the rear of his cavalry one day, as they paraded out of the town, he perceived a man, pierced by a lance, lying on the ground, and bathed in his blood. On enquiring the reason of this murder, and being answered that it was a peasant who had not turned out of the way in time, he passed on, saying very coolly: "When we march, every one must take care of himself."

Moawiyah had fixed his residence at Damascus. He ordered the prophet's pulpit to be removed thither. It was a foot-stool, from whence

Mahomet delivered his sermons, sitting on the second step from the top, the first being left for God. The succeeding caliphs occupied the rest, in the order of descent, as a mark of humility. Moawiyah probably thought that his sermons would have more effect were they also delivered from this species of tribunal; but the people of Medina refused to part with this precious deposit. The caliph had better success in an affair in which he expected to find much greater difficulty. He had a son, named Yezid, whom he beheld with the partial eye of a father. He fancied he possessed a majestic air, and qualities suited to the government of a vast empire. Those who saw him as he really was, found him presumptuous, arrogant, and totally indifferent to all religious concerns—a capital crime in those times of fervour. He was accused even of drinking wine, loving music, and clothing himself in silk. However, Moawiyah determined to have him acknowledged his successor, and even during his life-time his colleague. Notwithstanding the various obstacles that opposed him, he more easily obtained an object so repugnant to the wishes of this people, and of such importance to their happiness, than the displacing of the prophet's pulpit.

This caliph was very successful in all his undertakings. The Arab arms continued to be formidable during his reign. His banners waved

even beneath the walls of Constantinople. He held the reins of empire forty years in quality of governor of Syria and caliph, and nineteen alone from Hasan's abdication. He was tall in stature, extremely corpulent, had a good constitution, a broad chest, a firm look, and a strong voice. Although he may with justice be accused of some acts of cruelty, yet, in general, he was gentle and humane, acute, brave, easy of access, and complaisant in his behaviour.

Moawiyah loved poetry. A robber apprehended for a flagrant crime was on the point of losing his hand, according to the rigour of the law. He implored for mercy in verses so replete with genius, that the caliph pardoned him. It is worthy of remark, that this was the first sentence pronounced among the mussulmen that was not executed:—never before had any caliph presumed to pardon those whom the law had condemned. Another poet was also indebted to this talent for the return of a happiness which had been torn from him. He had placed all his wishes in the possession of a beautiful young Arab, and had obtained her for his wife, by sacrificing the greater part of his fortune to her parents. The governor of Cufa carried her off by force. The young poet in despair complained of his loss to Moawiyah, and painted his wretchedness in such exquisite verse, that the caliph was affected, and wrote immediately to the

governor to return her to her husband. The ravisher was so enamoured, that he replied to the caliph: "Father of the true believers, permit me to pass only one year with her, and at the end of that period behead me." Moawiyah paid no attention to this ridiculous proposal, but gave back the lovely Arab to her husband, according to her own desire; and joining generosity to justice, he liberally rewarded the poet, by costly presents, for the fortune he had spent to obtain her.

At eighty years of age, Moawiyah perceived that he was not so active in command as formerly. "Old age," he would say to those who surrounded him, "cools every thing: I have governed you so long, that, in fine, we are weary of each other." His son was absent when he died, but he found means to inform him, that though he had succeeded in having him acknowledged his colleague, he feared his succession to the throne would not be uncontested, would not be pacific, nor his reign without trouble.

The old caliph, by his abilities and prudence, had retained his competitors within bounds. As soon as he was dead, two formidable rivals appeared, in Hosein, the son of Ali, and brother of Hafan; and Abdallah, the son of Zobeir, who had fallen at the same time with Telha, the favourite of Mahomet's widow. The former had never approved of his brother's abdication; but

finding himself treated with respect by Moawiyah, he had continued to reside at Medina, where he was both esteemed and beloved, in the bosom of a family, who were most tenderly attached to him: Zobeir's son being also unmolested remained tranquil; indulging however a secret hope of seizing that dignity which had eluded his father's grasp. Medina, being reduced to a governor, saw with regret the splendour of the caliphate removed from Arabia into Syria, and took pleasure in fostering those families likely to revive her ancient honours, which Damascus then enjoyed. Mecca, united in interest with Medina, adopted the same sentiments, and the same wishes. All that division of Arabia among whom islamism had its birth, openly embraced the cause of those who zealously professed a religion to which Yezid betrayed more than indifference. As soon as Hosein permitted his intentions to be known the whole province of Irak declared for him, and although the governor had been strictly charged to watch his motions, he effected his escape from Medina, and retired to Mecca to concert the measures most likely to ensure him success.

Abdallah followed him, intending to frame his conduct according to the event. The more cautious and prudent of Hosein's party observed, not without pain, that, flattered by the preference given him by the Arabs, this prince

expressed his views too publicly. They advised him not to place any great dependence on popular favour. Abdallah, on the contrary, pleased to see the son of Ali risk the first experiment, exhorted him not to suffer the ardour of the faithful mussulmen to cool. Hosein adopted this counsel, and advanced, but badly attended, towards the cities who invited him, and whom he supposed ready to embrace his cause. Such certainly was their intention, but some were so effectually bribed by the governors, all chosen by Moawiyah, that they dared not declare themselves; and the rest were seduced by the insinuations of persons employed for that purpose by Yezid. Negotiations were begun between the chiefs, the two armies being in sight of each other. During these conferences, the zeal of Hosein's troops was considerably abated, and they almost all dispersed. He remained with only fifty horse and a hundred foot, his relations and friend, the bravest of the brave, all devoting themselves to death, which they knew was inevitable, but determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible.

To the unfortunate Hosein, encompassed by an army of five or six thousand men, was it a cause of encouragement, or despair, to see himself surrounded by his wives, his daughters, his sisters, their children and his own, whom he had dragged in his train contrary to the remon-

stances of his best advisers? This battle recalls the recollection of those heroes of antiquity, who parleyed, suspended the attack, uttered the most insulting threats—and concluded by murdering each other. It was proposed that Hosein should swear allegiance to Yezid: “Better to die,” replied he, “than yield my right to a tyrant.” He demands time for the evening prayer—this delay is granted—the night is spent in fortifying the camp and fastening the tents together—and with the dawn begin menaces and slaughter.

On the instant of assault, the air is rent with the shrieks of the women and children, mingled with bitter reproaches to the assailants, once their friends and associates—Zeinach, Hosein’s sister, quits her tent, and hastening to one of them, exclaims: “Can you have the heart to massacre your old friend!” He is moved; tears run down his cheeks; he averts his face; but arrows shower from every quarter on this feeble detachment. The horses, grown furious with pain, roll themselves on the earth; their riders disengage themselves in haste, rush impetuously on the foe, and force them to fall back. A little child, the nephew of Hosein, runs to embrace his uncle: while stretching out his arms towards him, his hand is cut off; he falls and instantly expires. Young Abdallah is slain by an arrow, while sitting on his father’s knee;

and the unhappy Hosein himself falls, covered with thirty-three contusions, and thirty-four wounds. The conquerors severed his head from the trunk, and hold it up in triumph. At this spectacle, those who yet have sufficient strength flee, and his family are taken prisoners. The enemy's general shewed them no great respect; but, on this occasion, Yezid conducted himself like a truly magnanimous prince. Far from exulting in his rival's death, when his head was presented to him, he exclaimed: "Oh! Hosein, could I have saved thee, thou shouldest not have fallen!" On observing his wives and children meanly clad, and in a situation unbecoming their rank, he blamed his general, ordered young Ali and Amru, who had been spared, garments suitable to their quality. He treated the widows with all possible deference, and even gave them as associate mourners for Hosein's death the widows of Maowiyah his own father. When they were recovered from their fatigue, he took leave of them with the greatest kindness, and appointed a strong escort to conduct them from Damascus to Mecca, commanded by a man of mild and gentle manners, who, according to the caliph's desire, endeavoured to alleviate their sorrow by the most studied marks of delicate attention. Hosein was about fifty years old when he was slain.

His death disembarassed Yezid only of one

rival: there remained another equally dangerous in Abdallah the son of Zobier. We have already observed, that he had persuaded Hosein to venture a first trial; and he now expected to turn that prince's dreadful catastrophe to his own advantage. He began publicly to lament his fate in Medina, where he resided. This compassion procured him a great number of partisans, which he augmented by donations judiciously distributed among the pious, whose suffrages might assist his designs. He had the less trouble in gaining them, because the accounts which arrived from Damascus gave Yezid a very indifferent character in regard to religion, and represented him, with justice, as a person by no means exact in the observance of its duties. The people being impressed with those unfavourable sentiments, a man, either bribed for the occasion, or an enthusiast in reality, rose up in the mosque of Medina, and threw his turban on the ground, exclaiming, "I cast off Yezid, as I do this turban:" another taking off his shoe, cried, "I reject Yezid, as I do this shoe." In an instant the whole pavement of the mosque was covered with turbans and shoes. The inhabitants of Medina openly rebelled, confined the governor, and all those who might afford him any assistance.

Informed of this sudden insurrection, Yezid immediately sent thither his troops; Medina was surrounded, stormed, and sacked. The army

then marched towards Mecca, where Abdallah, who was known to be the author of the rebellion, had retreated. Just as this city was on the point of suffering the fate of Medina, tidings arrived of Yezid's death. He was not forty years of age, and his reign had not been quite of four years' duration. It would be unjust to judge of this prince from the accounts given of him by the Persians, who execrate his memory because of Husein's massacre, and the sacking of Medina. His character was that of a man of pleasure, enemy to all forms, supposing him possessed of any religious principles. He was fond of wine, music, and dogs—inclinations forbidden the Mussulmen, even not rigorously pious. He was the first caliph served by eunuchs. His empire in Persia was considerably extended by his lieutenants, without much trouble on his part to direct their operations.

Son of a parent so little scrupulous, Moawiyah the Second carried his doubts so far as to hesitate whether he could inherit a dignity which he considered his father to have possessed unjustly. He abdicated the throne at the expiration of fifty days, without suffering himself to be persuaded to nominate his successor. When his nobles remonstrated, he replied, "As I have not enjoyed any of the prerogatives annexed to the caliphate, it is not just that I should load my conscience with its most dangerous

Moawiyah
II.
3th Caliph,
684.

"part. Permit me, then, to return you this
 "burthen. Decide among yourselves who is
 "the most capable of supplying my place."
 He died about a month after, either of the
 plague or by poison.

Abdallah,
 9th Caliph,
 and Mer-
 wan, 10th,
 684.

Abdallah being delivered by the death of
 Yezid from the danger of the Syrian army
 which besieged Mecca, where he then was,
 might have derived the greatest advantage from
 that event. The general offered to proclaim
 him caliph if he would establish his throne at
 Damascus, but he refused to quit Mecca. In-
 formed of his determination, the Syrian chiefs
 elected Merwan, one of their own party, but
 still of the Koreish tribe. His first care was to
 interdict the pilgrimage to Mecca, and in its
 stead to substitute the pilgrimage to Jerusalem,
 lest his subjects should be seduced by the par-
 tisans of Abdallah. Although he was in a very
 advanced age, he married one of Yezid's widows;
 and named Khaled, yet a minor, son of that
 emperor, his successor, to the exclusion of his
 own children.

The family of Ali remained tranquil during
 these commotions, but Hosein's death was not
 forgotten. Those among his partisans who had
 abandoned him, reflecting on the fatal effects of
 their desertion, bitterly reproached themselves;
 and the remorse they felt inspired them with a
 desire of avenging his murder. At the head of

these penitents, the appellation they assumed, was Soliman, a companion of Mahomet's, consequently a very old man, in great repute for his attachment to religion, but little endowed with military virtues. He acted as if zeal could supply the place of every deficiency. Under his command was formed a species of crusade, composed of pious mussulmen who crowded to his standard: their cry was, "Vengeance for Hosein!" and, like true enthusiasts, they devoted themselves to death as an atonement for their sin. "My child," said a father to his weeping daughter, who conjured him not to leave her, "thy father abandons his crime to return to God." The general himself being impressed with these sentiments, inspired his soldiers with the same. "It is for the world to come you fight," said he, "and not for this: therefore, whatever may be the success of the present expedition, you may depend hereafter on unalterable and eternal happiness."

Soliman conducted them to Hosein's tomb. They wept, uttered most woeful lamentations, and wished they had died with him. So great was their grief, and so sincere their repentance for having deserted Hosein, that when Soliman commanded them to march, they first threw themselves on the grave and intreated his forgiveness. All, however, were not so zealous; for some of them observing the general's inability, and the erroneous measures he pursued, with-

drew: among the number was a man named Mokhtar, one of those characters whose element is intrigue, and who though totally indifferent to the justice of a cause, embrace it from a natural restlessness of mind.

Soliman seeing them retire, said to his faithful followers: "The Almighty does not approve that these deserters should unite themselves to us: it is for our advantage that he separates them: therefore praise God and the prophet." With this excess of confidence, he led these wretched victims of his credulity under the raised scimitars of the Syrians, who massacred all those whose prudence or agility did not assist their flight. This was one of the principal events of Merwan's reign, which was not of a year's continuance. Notwithstanding his having nominated Khaled, the son of Yezid, whose mother he had married, as his successor, he caused his own son Abdalmalec to be proclaimed. His wife, irritated at his conduct, poisoned him, or according to other accounts smothered him. He was nearly seventy years of age. Egypt was subdued by his generals.

Abdallah
and Abdal-
malec, 11th
Caliph,
488.

Mokhtar, of whom we have spoken, assembled the scattered remains of the enthusiast Soliman's army, and conducted these soldiers, grown wise from misfortune, with order and discipline, which gained him considerable success. He adroitly turned the remainder of their former credulity to his advantage. In a circumstance

where it was necessary that fanaticism should supply the place of force, he caused a portable throne, to which he attributed extraordinary virtues, to be paraded through the camp, and carried on a mule in the rear of the army. "This throne," said he to his troops, "will be as useful to you, as the ark of the covenant was to the Israelites." As they were at first successful, this pageant, to which they thought themselves indebted for their victories, became a sort of idol in their sight; but its virtues soon evaporated, and a total reverse of fortune ensued; Mokhtar was slain in battle, and his troops dispersed. From the licentiousness of these interior commotions were formed wandering hordes, destitute of every moral and religious principle, who loudly expressed their contempt and abhorrence of all government, both temporal and spiritual. These banditti committed every species of devastation, and the most horrid barbarities, without any distinction of party, age, or sex. Massacre and plunder was their religion and their law. One of them meeting a lady of extraordinary beauty and piety, seemed inclined to spare her: "What," said one of his associates, "thou wilt suffer thyself to be vanquished by her charms, thou deniest thy faith then!" He instantly struck off her head with his sabre. These are the fruits of civil wars; they render anarchy lawful, and embolden crimes, unless they are timely suppressed with a rod of iron.

Abdalmalec insensibly rose superior to his rivals, one of the most formidable of whom was Musab, the brother of the caliph Abdallah, who had been defeated in a battle near Cufa. As he sat at table in the castle of that town, his head was brought him. One of the guests seeing it, said: "In this same place have I seen Hosein's head presented to Obeidallah; Obeidallah's to Mokhtar; Mokhtar's to Musab, and now Musab's to you." Abdalmalec caused the castle to be demolished, lest his own should also be carried thither. At the caliph's repast sat an old man, whose conversation may give an idea of the simplicity of that period: "What dish do you prefer?" said the prince to him: "An ass's head, nicely roasted and seasoned," replied he: "That is but an ordinary dish," answered the caliph; "what think you of a quarter of roasted lamb, with a sauce of milk and butter?" But little variation therefore had taken place in the dishes and cookery of these countries, where Abraham seventeen hundred years before had offered the angels, as a delicacy, a roasted calf with a sauce of milk and butter. But we find no anterior example of a custom then prevalent;—that of forcing the couriers to eat the letters they brought, if they contained disagreeable intelligence.

692.

It has been remarked, that after Hosein's death, Abdallah, the son of Zobeir, had assumed the dignity of caliph. He might have preserved

it solely, had he consented to reside at Damascus, but he chose to confine himself to Arabia: his forces consequently were very inconsiderable compared with those of his opponent Abdalmalec, who united the armies of Syria, and of other parts of the empire subject to his control. With these numerous battalions, all commanded by brave generals, the Syrian obliged his unfortunate rival to retreat from post to post, till at length he intrenched himself in Mecca, the only place remaining to him.

Here he valiantly defended himself during eight months. At length he was deserted by almost all his friends, ten thousand of the inhabitants, and even by his two sons. The general of the enemy offered him any terms, on the single condition of his resigning his pretensions, and acknowledging the caliph of Damascus. Although he was seventy-two years old, his mother, the daughter of Abu Becr, still lived: he consulted her on this occasion; but she, not enduring the thought of seeing her son reduced to a private station, exhorted him not to survive the loss of his dignity. Determined by this counsel, though destitute of arms, troops, and fortifications, he held out ten days longer. In the last visit he paid her, she observed he wore a coat of mail, which she advised him to take off, that his death might not be lingering. He expressed some fears, lest his body should be exposed to the enemy's insults, to which

he replied—"A dead sheep feels not when it is flayed." After bidding his mother a last farewell, animated by despair, Abdallah rushed into the midst of the besiegers, and slew a great number of them; while they, not daring to advance, assailed him with stones from a distance, and wounded him in many places before he received a mortal blow. By his death Abdalmalec remained sole caliph, which dignity he possessed thirteen years.

Abdalmalec had a general named Hejaj, who was also a most formidable orator: to him he gave the government of Irak, whose inhabitants formerly deserted Hosein, and had not proved more faithful to Abdallah. On Hejaj's arriving at Cufa, their capital, they crowded round him. "Your curiosity shall soon be gratified," said he, "you will know me before it is long." He then ascended the pulpit of the mosque, harangued them in very severe terms on their former insurrections, and swore that he would not pardon one who should be guilty in future. After a pause, casting his fiery eyes round on the audience, he exclaimed: "What numbers of heads do I behold ready to be struck off!—What quantities of beards and turbans bathed in blood!" Hejaj was attended by twelve thousand resolute soldiers, very capable of realizing these rhetorical figures. Abdalmalec, chief of the house of the Ommyades,

declared himself the avenger of Othman, and vowed the bitterest enmity to the house of Ali, whom he accused of his murder. That he might the better perpetrate the dissensions among his subjects, he supported the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, reduced the temple of Mecca, which Hosein had embellished, to its ancient simplicity, and began to build a superb mosque at Damascus. Aided by his generals, he extended the limits of his empire further than any of his predecessors; subdued Armenia, added a considerable portion of India to Egypt and Persia, and carried his victorious arms even into Spain. To judge by his successes, there can be no doubt of his possessing great abilities, both political and military. The emperor Heraclius frequently curbed his invasive disposition; but though the Arabs were sometimes defeated by the Greeks, yet, at the termination of the war, the former preserved their conquests. Abdalmalec is accused of the most sordid avarice—a debasing vice in princes. He might also be reproached of the most ferocious cruelty, were we to decide on his character from a single fact. He sentenced one of his relatives to be beheaded, and after giving this order, went very coolly to the mosque. On his return, he learned that his brother, whom he had charged with the commission, touched with compassion, had not executed it; and by his command, the condemned man was brought into his presence, and held down on his back,

while he plunged a dagger into his breast. The blood gushing out upon him, caused a revolution in his frame, and he fainted. Happy, if this revulsion of nature evinced his repentance for the atrocity of such a deed! He is not said to have perpetrated any other act of barbarity, nor even to have commanded any. At his death he was aged sixty-five, and had reigned twenty-one years. Arabian money was first coined in his caliphate.

Walid, 12th
cal ph. 705.

Walid was proclaimed the same day his father died. He extended his conquests towards Cappadocia and Thrace, which induced him to raise his standard beneath the walls of Constantinople; but being compelled soon to withdraw it, he removed into Africa and Spain, where it continued fixed; while the greater part of Asia, the confines of Europe contiguous to it, and the lengthened coasts of Africa, acknowledged the divine mission of Mahomet. Throughout all these countries, the mussulmen demolished the idols, with a zeal that suffered very few to escape. They preached the unity of the Godhead with arms in their hands; but as the belief in the prophet was always made an article of the faith, not many christians nor jews became proselytes to their doctrine. These missionaries reaped an abundant harvest only among the pagans, who were easily persuaded to renounce their absurd religion; and for the most part became as zealous mussulmen, and as ardent propagators of islamism, as their conquerors. Walid

was forty years old when he ascended the throne, and reigned nine in uninterrupted prosperity. His disposition was the reverse of his father's—generous, and magnificent. He adorned many towns with superb mosques; and was the first who founded an hospital for the sick, and built caravansaries, or inns, for the traveller or the stranger.

As a recompense for his services, Walid permitted Hejaj, the formidable governor of Irak, to settle in a sort of small principality of Persia, where he lived as sovereign, and died peaceably at the age of fifty-five; after having exterminated one hundred and twenty thousand people, by the sword, and suffered fifty thousand men and thirty thousand women to perish in prison, without reckoning the victims sacrificed in war during twenty years that he commanded the armies, and governed the disaffected provinces with a rod of iron. Being fond of haranging, he condescended one day to justify his conduct to the Irakins, in the following terms; “ God has given me power over you, and though I use it with severity, do not flatter yourselves that when I am dead you will escape chastisement; for God has a multitude of servants, and after my death, he will send you one who will execute his orders respecting you, perhaps, with more rigour than I do. Would you have the prince be mild and gentle—follow the dictates of justice, and obey his commands: your own conduct will be the principle, and the

“ cause, of either the good or bad treatment you
 “ receive from him. The sovereign and his lieu-
 “ tenant may be aptly compared to a looking-
 “ glass: all that appears in this glass is but the
 “ reflexion and image of the objects placed be-
 “ fore it.” Obedience to princes being emphati-
 cally recommended in the alcoran, Hejaj insist-
 ed that it was before that due to God, because,
 though that divine book says — ‘ Obey God,’
 yet the prophet immediately adds, ‘ as much as
 ‘ in your power ;’ “ whereas,” said he, “ there is
 “ no reservation with respect to the obedience due
 “ to princes.”

Walking one day in the country, he met an
 Arab of the desert: he accosted him, and among
 other things said, “ Who is this Hejaj they talk
 “ so much of?” “ A very wicked man,” replied
 the Arab. “ Dost thou know me?” resumed
 the governor. “ No.” “ Well, I am that Hejaj, of
 “ whom thou speakest so harshly.”—Without be-
 traying the smallest emotion, the Arab rejoined:
 “ Do you know who I am?” “ No.” “ Well, I
 “ belong to the family of Zobeir, whose descend-
 “ ants have a fit of insanity three days in the year,
 “ and this is one of them.”

Hejaj admired this ingenious evasion, and com-
 mended the Arab’s presence of mind. Courage
 was as sure of favour in his esteem as understand-
 ing. Having condemned some officers, his pri-
 soners, to suffer death, one among the number

petitioned Hejaj to grant him his life, on the plea of his having some time before reproved a man for speaking ill of him. "Have you any witnesses?" said the governor. "I have," replied the captive, immediately naming an officer present, also under sentence of death. The latter declared it was a fact. "And why," continued Hejaj, "did not you, as well as your comrade, prevent their defaming me?" "Because," answered this intrepid man, haughtily, "you were my enemy." He extended his pardon to them both. He missed his way one day in hunting, and found himself in the midst of an herd of camels, whose owner was leading them to pasture. The animals were startled. The Arab, in a passion, cried in a rough tone of voice—"What fellow is this in his fine cloths, come into the desert to scare my camels! may God's curse light upon him!" Hejaj begged his pardon, and asked him for a little water. "Dismount," said the clown rudely, "and draw some for yourself." Notwithstanding this bad reception, the governor entered into conversation with this man, and after several questions answered in the most surly manner, he enquired what he thought of the emperor. The Arab hesitated a moment, and then did not conceal that he thought him a very bad prince. "Why?" said Hejaj. "Why, because he has sent us for a governor the most wicked man upon earth." Scarcely had he spoken, when the

governor's guard appeared. The Arab was commanded to attend them. The following day Hejaj invited him to dinner. The guest, after repeating his prayer, seeing an elegant repast, exclaimed, "God grant that this meal may end as happily as it begins!" The company ate and conversed. Hejaj introduced the adventure of the preceding day, when the Arab interrupted him, saying, "God prosper you in all things! but respecting the secret of yesterday, take care you do not divulge it to-day." "I will not," replied he, "on this condition; either that thou remain in my service, or that I send thee to the emperor, informing him, at the same time, of thy opinion of him." "There is a third way, much preferable to either of those," returned the Arab, "What is it?" "To order me to return home; and may we never meet again!" Hejaj permitted him to depart according to his desire, and made him a handsome present.

We must not omit another very ingenious reply of a man, named Kumeil, whom Hejaj accused of having loaded him with the following imprecations, before witnesses, in a garden: "May God blacken his visage!—meaning, may he be covered with shame and confusion. May his throat be cut, and his blood shed!" "It is very true," answered Kumeil, "I did say all this in the garden you mention: I was standing under a vine, looking at some bunches of grapes

“that were not yet ripe; and I wished them to
 “turn black that they might be cut down and
 “made into wine.”—This explanation, given with-
 out hesitation, saved his life. The same good for-
 tune did not attend his astrologer, who, more rash
 than wise, had the impudence bluntly to foretel
 Hejaj’s death to him, adding some proofs to his
 prediction, which the sick man considered as suffici-
 ently convincing. “Well,” said he, “since you
 “are so clever, I may want your services in the
 “other world, therefore, you shall set off before
 “me.” He sent him there in reality.

Walid was succeeded by his brother Soliman, a <sup>Soliman,
13th Caliph,
715.</sup> very merciful prince, surnamed the “Key of
 “goodness.” He redressed the grievances com-
 plained of before his accession; curbed the licen-
 tiousness of the times, encouraged commerce, and
 liberated all the prisoners, except those confined
 for capital crimes. Constantinople was again at-
 tacked in his reign. In the space of twelve
 months, which the siege lasted, thirty thousand
 people died of famine, and nearly an equal number
 of the plague; but, on the other hand, scarcely an
 Arab returned home. Woe be to the town that
 during a siege should contain men with such an
 inordinate appetite as Soliman. Three roasted
 lambs are said to have been not more than suf-
 ficient for his breakfast; and this plenteous meal
 did not prevent his making a very good dinner.
 It is supposed, he died of indigestion. Other

accounts relate that he was poisoned by Yezid his brother, because Soliman had excluded him from the caliphate, and nominated Omar, his cousin, for his successor. Soliman reigned only three years.

Omar II.
14th Caliph,
718.

Omar, whom he had appointed, did not long enjoy the sovereignty. He preserved on the throne those virtues for which he had been distinguished before his exaltation: a conscientious attention to every religious duty, and even its most minute ceremonies; a disregard of pleasure; a taste for retirement; all the qualities of an anchorite, except intolerance, which but too frequently is predominant in a devout character.

No blame can be attached to him, if the partisans of Omar and Ali remained at enmity. He prohibited the maledictions uttered against the latter in the mosque during public prayer, as was the custom. The bigots exclaimed, "The faith is in danger! the faith is destroyed!" He, nevertheless, abolished this practice, which served as a signal of schism among the Mussulmen to perpetuate the antipathy they vowed each other. This prince's death is imputed to his piety. He could not look with indifference on the evils that seemed to menace religion, should his cousin Yezid, who was represented to him as an impious man, succeed to the throne. The house of Ommiyah dreading to see the sceptre descend to another family, caused him to be poisoned. The caliph's

friends suspecting the truth, advised him to take an antidote. "I am so firmly convinced," said he, in answer to their persuasions, "of the fatal and inevitable term of man's existence here, that if by rubbing a little oil on the tip of my ear I could effect a cure, I would not do it." Soliman was frugal in the extreme: his apparel was always of the simplest kind; his wives even allow that he never had more than a change of linen at a time. During his last illness, one of his generals visiting him in his chamber, was surprized to find him in such a state of negligence and disorder, that it would have done honour to the dervise the least addicted to cleanliness.

The suspicions which had been instilled into the mind of Soliman, respecting his cousin Yezid, were unjust: he had not indeed the piety of his predecessor; but he did not degenerate from his father Abdalmalee, in his zeal for propagating mahometism. He likewise built superb mosques; and moreover persecuted the christians, which could not have been the conduct of a luke-warm mussulman. Historians must have found a great dearth of incident in his reign, since they relate his having issued a command for the extirpation of all white dogs, cocks, pigeons; in fine, every animal of that colour. Four years that he held the reins of empire surely would have sufficed to annihilate the whole race, had his orders been properly executed. He was passionately fond of

Yezid II.
15th Caliph,
719.

a finger, named Hababah, to whom he threw a large grape at a rural entertainment, which she attempting to swallow was unfortunately choaked. He shortly after died of grief for her loss.

Hesham,
16th Caliph,
923.

There is nothing of more importance known of Hesham his brother. He was in all things the reverse of his ante-predecessor, Omar II. whose penury and voluntary privation has been remarked. Omar, at his death, scarcely possessed one shirt; Hesham at his, left ten thousand, and seven hundred coffers filled with habiliments of every sort. The noticing these singularities will not be deemed useless by those who make mankind their study:—nor will the vanity of the artist, exemplified in the conduct of a lute-player. This man was addicted to wine, and the company of singers, and accused of these crimes before the caliph. “Beat the caitif’s drum about his ears,” said the judge. While they inflicted the punishment he shed tears, for which they upbraided him. “It is not because I suffer that I weep,” replied he, “but because my lute is degraded, and put upon a footing with a drum.” Hesham, at his death, was fifty-three years old, and had reigned nineteen. During the sovereignty of these princes, the Arabs continued their formidable conquests. They overran the provinces of the eastern and western empires; from Africa spread through Spain; from Spain inundated Gaul, and formed a dike against the Turks, who poured in torrents from the shores.

of the Caspian sea, to divide with the Arabs the rich and fertile countries they had invaded. From their palaces, the abode of every luxury and delight, the caliphs issued their orders to armies distant sometimes three thousand miles. In such high respect were these mandates held, that, at their sight, conquering generals remitted the command; or if they resisted, were violently deposed, or assassinated. This prodigy could be effected only by the extreme veneration with which the successor of the prophet was considered. We must not forget, that their obedience was always prompt and implicit, whosoever the successor of Mahomet might be—whether pious or impious—established on the throne, or in danger of being deposed: consequently the disturbances which shook the centre of the empire were unfelt in its extremities.

Hesham was succeeded by Walid II. the son of Yezid his brother. As soon as he became possessed of his uncle's treasures, he distributed them with a profuse hand. Hesham locked up his provision and apparel in chests, the keys of which he kept himself, and so effectually concealed, that at his death not even a sheet could be found to wrap his body in. Walid opened all, divided these hoards among the poor of Damascus, and presented the ladies of the city with a vast quantity of perfumes and magnificent dresses. They might justly be compared to two merchants, one of whom returns those riches back to commerce

Walid II. or
Abul-Ab-
bas, 17th
Caliph,
742.

which the other had accumulated. Walid's liberality gained him, for a time, the affection of the people, but his vices soon disgusted them. He was accused of drunkenness, and every species of debauchery; and above all, of openly professing zendicism, which is nearly the same as sadducism among the jews, and deism among the moderns. The general discontent ripened into sedition. He reminded the mussulmen of his generosity, and his attention in never augmenting the taxes; to which they replied: "We grant you these good qualities, but they are surpassed by your vices;" and they enumerated them. He was deposed and massacred at forty-two years of age, after a reign of fifteen months. Walid left several children, as well as his predecessors and successors, who formed a multitude of uncles, nephews, and cousins, whose interests clashing, kept them in a continual state of discord.

Yezid III.
18th caliph.
Ibrahim,
19th caliph,
743.

Walid's children did not succeed him, but his cousin Yezid III. son of Walid I. He died of the plague six months after, and his brother Ibrahim ascended the throne. A governor of Mesopotamia, named Merwan, appeared, declaring himself the avenger of Walid II. He obtained a signal victory, and proclaimed the two sons of Walid, Hakin and Othman, caliphs. These young princes were unfortunately at that time in the power of Yezid, who caused them to be assassinated. Foreseeing the fate that awaited them, they appointed,

in case of that event, Merwan for their successor; and ordered the mussulmen to consider him as caliph. Hence arose his title to that dignity, which he immediately asserted, pursued Ibrahim, and deposed him, after a reign of three months. He made no attempt on his life; but it is suspected that one of Merwan's sons deprived him of it some years afterwards.

During five years that Merwan possessed the caliphate, his whole employ was to defend it against various competitors, who attacked him in different parts of the empire. The most formidable of these were two brothers, Ibrahim and Abul Abas, descendents of Ali. They appeared in arms in Khorasan, near Irak; and declared their determination never to acknowledge Merwan as caliph: and as by the cession of Hakin and Othman in his favour, the right of the house of Ommiyah seemed to centre in the governor of Mesopotomia, they pursued him with the greatest ferocity, in the hope of removing the only obstacle which opposed their pretensions. The two brothers were preceded by prophecies, predicting that they should extirminate the house of Ommiyah. A standard was carried by their partisans, on which these words were inscribed—"Shadow and clouds," which they explained thus: "As clouds will for ever cover the earth; and as its shadow will never fail; so in future the world will be governed by caliphs of

Merwan,
20th caliph,
744.

“the house of the Abassides.” An appearance of conviction frequently has more weight with the people than justice. The Irakans crowded to assist those whose ancestors they had deserted.

Merwan had the imprudence to distrust the inhabitants of Damascus, and removed the treasures of the caliphate into his armoury, where he thought them more secure. This conduct alienated the minds of the Syrians: however, he continued to support himself by the aid of his other troops. Ibrahim; one of his opponents, fell into his power: he cast him into prison, where, according to the most authentic accounts, he died of poison. But Merwan himself at length was compelled to flee into Egypt, where, having taken refuge in a mosque, he was pierced by a lance, which at once terminated, at the age of sixty, his honours and his life. In one of his expeditions he took possession of a convent, and became captivated by the beauty of one of the nuns: as his manners seemed to express desires alarming to her modesty, the christian virgin offered him an ointment, which she said would render the part rubbed with it invulnerable, and proposed his trying the experiment on herself. Merwan anointed her neck, drew his sabre, aimed a blow, and struck off her head. The timid sex is, perhaps, that in which is found the most frequent examples of calm determined intrepidity.

From the name of Abul Abbas is derived that ^{Abul Abbas,} of Abassides, the second dynasty of the caliphs. ^{21st caliph,} 749. No efforts were spared by this prince to destroy the house of Ommyyah, which was the first, but notwithstanding all his researches, one escaped him, from whom descended Abdulraahman, who renewed that family in Spain, and assumed the title of caliph there. Abul Abbas, though on most other occasions accounted mild and humane, massacred all those of the house of Ommyyah, who came within his power; neither did he shew pity to those of his own family, descendants as well as himself from Ali, if their pretensions to the throne interfered with his. After having freed himself from all his competitors, and when he was on the point, as he vainly flattered himself, of uninterrupted enjoyment, after four years spent in commotions and fatigue, he died of the small-pox at the age of thirty.

Al Mansur, his brother, followed his example, ^{Al Mansur,} and did not scruple any more than he had done ^{22d caliph,} 753. to sacrifice those whose pretensions could cause him any apprehension, whether of the house of Omar or Ali. The most celebrated events of his caliphate are, his expedition against the Turks, whom he drove out of Armenia, and the conquest of Cilicia and Cappadocia; but at the same time he lost his influence in Spain, where Abdulraahman rendered himself as famous by the magnificent edifices erected at Cordova, as Al Mansur in Asia

by the building of Bagdad, to which place he removed the seat of empire. This prince was sensible, prudent, amiable, and insinuating in his manners; but inexorable to his enemies, some of whom, deaf to their supplications, were by his command massacred in his presence. He revenged, when sovereign, the affronts done to the individual. A courtier paid with his life the breach of respect he had been guilty of towards him during his brother's reign. It is also observed, that when raised to the throne, he treated with contumely the companions of his private life, although they were persons of merit: perhaps he feared being obliged to enrich them; for he was covetous to an extreme. Being near his end, he sent for his son Mohdi, whom he addressed in this singular manner: "I advise you to conduct yourself towards your relatives in public with the utmost deference and attention, because it will reflect honour and fame on yourself: but," added he, "I believe you will do no such thing. Encrease the number of your freedmen, because they may be of considerable utility to you in any reverse of fortune: but," continued he, "I believe you will do no such thing. Do not build in the western parts of your empire, because you will never be able to finish: but, however, I believe you will do it. Take care that your wives never interfere in state affairs, and do not let them have any influence in your councils: but

“ this I am sure you will do. These are my
 “ farewell orders; if you prefer it, my farewell ad-
 “ vice. God bless you!” Al Mansur was no
 stranger to the inefficacy of a dying man’s coun-
 cil. He held the reins of power twenty-two years,
 and died at the age of sixty-eight.

Al Mansur had made a very splendid pilgrimage Al Mohdi,
23d caliph,
774.
 to Mecca; but Al Mohdi’s visit to that city was ac-
 companied with every refinement of luxurious
 delicacy. The camels were loaded with so pro-
 digious a quantity of snow, that there was found
 sufficient, not only for his and his retinue’s re-
 freshment through the burning sands of Arabia,
 but to preserve the delicious fruits he had car-
 ried with him in all their bloom, and to ice his
 liquors during his residence at Mecca, the greater
 part of whose inhabitants were strangers to snow.
 An Arab presented him with one of Mahomet’s
 slippers, which he received very graciously, and
 amply recompensed the donor. “ I do not be-
 “ lieve,” said he to his courtiers, “ that Mahomet
 “ ever even saw the slipper, but had I refused to
 “ accept it, the people would have thought I de-
 “ spised it, and would have taken umbrage at it.”
 He distributed considerable sums in the temple in
 alms. Being surprized that one member of the con-
 gregation stood at a distance instead of taking a part
 like the rest, he turned to him, saying: “ And you,
 “ do you ask nothing?” “ I should be ashamed,”

replied the pious mussulman, " in the house of
" God, to ask any thing but of himself."

During this reign appeared a man named Al Mokanna, who had first been a foldier, then a register, and at length set up for a prophet. He was extremely deformed, and had lost an eye. To conceal this last defect, he constantly wore a veil, which he said was to prevent those who looked at him from being dazzled by the splendor of his countenance. This artful impostor was an adept at various juggling tricks : amongst others, he caused a luminous body, resembling the moon, to rise every night from the bottom of a well, which gained him the appellation of the moon-maker. There was nothing extraordinary in his doctrine, the morality of which is not mentioned ; but it is presumable that it was accommodating, from his having a great number of disciples, against whom Al Mohdi was obliged to dispatch an army. Not satisfied with being a prophet, he pretended he was inspired by that spirit of the divinity which had throughout all ages infused itself into the different prophets, and that at length it resided with him. It certainly might have chosen a more beautiful tenement. Mokanna finding himself shut up in a citadel, his last resource, and hopeless of relief, poisoned his associates, burnt their remains, together with their apparel, provisions, and cattle, and then threw himself also into the flames. His

profelytes, however, did not despair, for he promised that his soul should transmigrate into the body of a grey-headed old man, riding on a grey beast; that he would then return, and make them masters of the whole earth. Several ages elapsed while they waited in expectation of seeing the old man on the grey beast, clothed in white, in opposition to the Abassides, who usually wore black.

Al Mohdi persecuted with unceasing rancor all sectaries and heretics; the zendicists, or deists; who notwithstanding remained very numerous among the mussulmen. This caliph did not conduct the armies in person; but his generals were every-where victorious, and one of them compelled the celebrated Irene to sue for peace. From Bagdad, his seat of empire, Al Mohdi governed his vast domains with justice and prudence. The affairs of state were expedited by him with great application and diligence. His ministers could not deceive him. If they were negligent of the duties of their office, he gently reprehended them. "How long will you continue to err?" said he, to one of them. "As long," replied he, "as God preserves your life, it will be our fate to err, and your's to pardon our errors."

In this reign an apothecary, named Isfa, a sort of quack, set up as a physician. One of the caliph's wives being indisposed, sent a slave to consult him, without mentioning from whom she came. The slave presented the urine, saying, it

was that of a poor woman. The apothecary examined the vial with an air of sagacity, and replied: "Of a poor woman! truly it belongs to a great princess, who is pregnant of a prince." This conversation was related to the Sultana, who, enchanted with the augur, made Isa a very handsome present, and promised him a more valuable one should his prediction prove real: in effect she was delivered of a prince: the apothecary suffered himself to be loaded with wealth, and removed to court in quality of a physician. In one thing, however, he shewed himself neither physician nor quack; for he honestly confessed his success was a mere matter of chance.

It is related of Al Mohdi, that having lost his way a-hunting, he entered into an Arab's hut to refresh himself; the latter offered him brown bread, and some milk. The caliph enquired whether he had nothing better to give him. His host fetched a jug of wine. The prince drank a draught, and asked him if he knew him. "No," said the Arab. "I am one of the principal noblemen at the caliph's court." He then drank a second draught, and repeated the same question: "Do you know me?" "You have just now informed me," answered the Arab. "That is not it," rejoined the toper; "I am greater than that." He drank a third draught, and renewed the question. "I rely on what you told me," continued the Arab. "Well," said the questioner, "I am

“the caliph, before whom every one falls prostrate.” The Arab instantly leaped up, ran to his jug, and carried it away. “Why,” said Al Mohdi, “do you take away the wine?” “Because if you were to drink a fourth draught, I should fear you would tell me you were the prophet, and at the fifth, that you were God almighty himself.” The caliph was entertained with this folly of his host’s, and ordered him a sum of money. “Assert whatever you think proper,” resumed the Arab; “you may depend on my believing you a man of veracity, even should you swell your dignities to the fourth and fifth draught.”

Al Mohdi’s death was occasioned by a mistake. One of his wives being jealous of Hasfana, his favourite, gave her a poisoned pear. The fruit was so fine, that she thought it worthy of the caliph’s acceptance, and presented it to him, little suspecting its pernicious quality. The emperor had scarcely eaten it, than he was attacked with excruciating pains, and shortly after expired, at the age of forty-three, and after a reign of ten years.

He was succeeded by his son Musa. One of the most important concerns of this caliph, and his successors, was to repress zendicism, which daily gained ground among the Arabs, especially the nobles. Its aim was nothing less than to abolish the faith in Mahomet, and consequently to destroy the submission of mind, as well as deed,

Musa,
Al Hadi,
24th caliph,
784.

exacted by the caliphs, his successors; an article of the utmost importance to those princes. After his father's example, Musa persecuted the sectaries of this heresy, and did not even spare those of his own family who were addicted to it. Pilgrimage, ablutions, and prostrations, were turned by them into a subject of ridicule; for which reason the caliphs were more punctual in the observance of their several duties than before. To the daring maxims of these anti-mahometans may be attributed the frequent insurrections, always tinged with religion, which disturbed the reigns of the Abassides.

It is surprizing that at the age of twenty-four Musa should be solicitous about a successor. Whatever might have been his motive, his intention was sufficiently apparent to excite uneasiness at court. Khizaran, his mother, wished to bestow the crown on her youngest son Harun Al Raschid; and Musa, to place it on the head of his own son, yet a child; to have effected which he is said to have planned the death of his mother by poison, and of his brother Harun and his visier by the poniard. An assassin, named Hartamah, was concealed in the palace, that he might the more effectually strike the blow, as soon as an opportunity occurred.

In the dead of night, Musa was alarmed by the voice of Khizaran calling to him; he hastened to her, when pointing to his son extended dead on his bed, she told him that a violent cough, followed by

a fit of sneezing, had reduced him to that state. But it is to be feared that these symptoms were accelerated.

Mufa was a lover of poetry. Charmed by the beauty of some verses presented him by a bard, named Merwān: "Choose," said he, "whether you will have thirty thousand drachms paid down, or wait and receive a hundred thousand after passing through all the formalities of the finances." "Thirty thousand paid down," replied the poet, "and a hundred thousand in reversion."

It is evident that belief was given to the fit of coughing and sneezing, since at the death of Mufa, some nobles of his court went to his son's chamber, dragged him from his bed, and compelled him to acknowledge his uncle caliph; a form apparently essential to render the election of Harun Al Raschid legitimate, who immediately took peaceable possession of the throne. Whether from conviction, or the necessity of appearing convinced, he certainly was very scrupulous in the practice of all the mahometan rites: he travelled eight or nine times from Bagdad to Mecca, and once performed that journey on foot. When he could not undertake the pilgrimage himself, he engaged three hundred persons, to whom he supplied every thing necessary, to go as his representatives. This prince commanded his armies in person, particularly against the Greek empire. He was sometimes defeated, though generally victo-

Harun Al
Raschid,
25th caliph,
786.

rious. These wars, like all the rest, were conducted with a ferocity which depopulated the countries; destroyed cities; condemned a multitude of unhappy wretches to the bonds of slavery; and terminated in equivocal treaties, which served to light up afresh the torch of rebellion.

Harun had three sons, whom he brought up with the greatest care. He wished to engage a philosopher, famous for his learning, to instruct the young princes at the palace; but the doctor replied: "The sciences ought not to court any one, but should be courted by them." "You are very right," said Harun, "they shall attend at the same place with the other youth of the city, and, like them, partake of your instructions." Though this answer favours a little of self-sufficiency, yet the doctor is entitled to esteem; for out of forty-eight questions proposed to him one day, he had the candor to confess himself ignorant of thirty-four. The education which the young princes received in this school, rendered them worthy of sharing with their father the government of his vast domains during his life-time. This distribution shews the extent of the mahometan empire. Harun had three sons. To his eldest son, Amin, he assigned Syria, Irak, the three Arabias, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Media, Palestine, Egypt, all the conquests of his predecessors in Africa, from the frontiers of Egypt and Ethiopia to the straits of Gibraltar,

with the dignity of caliph; to Mamun, the second, he gave Persia, Kerman, Khorasan, and the extensive provinces adjacent; and to Kasem, the youngest son, Armenia, Natolia, Georgia, Circassia, and all the moslem territories towards the Euxine sea. Spain, which was governed by a different family, is not mentioned in this division. The three princes were to succeed each other.

The disgrace of the Barmacides happened in this reign. Some historians represent them as illustrious sufferers, others as traitors and criminals. They were descended from one of the first families of the east, and derived their name from a magnificent mosque, called New Bahar, of their building at Balkh, and to which they were superintendants by hereditary right. Musa had appointed Yahya, chief of that house, whose wife had nursed the young prince, to be governor to Harun. They had four sons, the second of whom, Jaafar, seems to have been the cause, either guilty or innocent, of his family's misfortunes. Harun loved him with the affection of a brother; and reposed the greatest confidence in him. It is said, that to prevent his ever being separated from him, he gave him his sister Abbasa in marriage, but on condition that they should abstain from all conjugal rights: they promised; forgot their promise, and two sons were born. Harun became furious: he ordered the father to be massacred, and the mother and her children to be cast into a well,

The Barmacides.

which was immediately filled up. It is related, however, that he could not pronounce this barbarous sentence without shedding tears. But this marriage, its conditions, and their consequence, deserve to be ranked among the list of fables, as appears from the striking event which followed the death of Jaafar. It is said, that his body was quartered by the caliph's command, and exposed on the gates of Bagdad, and his head placed on the bridge which crosses the Tigris. Would so wise a prince as Harun have had the imprudence to give so much publicity to such a punishment, incurred by such a cause? It is more probable that Jaafar, and two of his brothers, abused the confidence reposed in them by the caliph; that they became dangerous from their intrigues, and that they and their father fell a sacrifice to their ambition. Harun pardoned Mahomet, one of the four, who seems not to have taken any part in the designs of his family. The emperor wrote to the governors of the provinces, telling them to be on their guard against their partisans, relatives, and friends, and to dispatch them wherever found. As a further proof of a deep-planned conspiracy, he proscribed their name, and forbade the mention of it under pain of death; but as the Bermicides had, during their favour, shewn great virtues, they had attached many persons to them by their generosity, and the essential services they had rendered, and their memory was held in veneration.

tion, in despite of Harun's orders. An old man, named Mondir, in grateful remembrance of their bounty, had the temerity to make a public panegyric on his benefactors. He was condemned to die. Before he was led to execution, Mondir requested to speak two words to the caliph. Instead of two, the liberal old man declaimed in a long oration on the services which the Bermacides had rendered Harun himself. The prince was affected; pardoned him, and at the same time presented him a gold plate that stood before him. Mondir prostrated himself, after the eastern custom, to return him thanks, and added, as he rose, "This is a new favour I receive from the house of Bar-mac." The emperor was not even offended at this liberty of speech. He was not only indulgent but just towards a woman who gave him a very severe rebuke. She complained to him of his soldiers plundering her house. "Have not you read in the Alcoran," said the caliph, "that when princes pass through a place in arms, they destroy it?" "I have also read in the same book," replied she, "that the houses of these princes shall be desolate, because of their injustice." He commanded immediate restitution to be made her. The last action of his life cannot be called an act of justice: or, if so, it was the most rigorous kind of justice. He was dying, when the son of a rebel was brought to him in chains. He fixed his eyes on him, and suffered

this expression to fall from his lips : “ Had I
“ time to say only two words, they should be, kill
“ him.” The unfortunate youth was massacred,
and the caliph expired ! He was nearly fifty years
of age, and had reigned twenty-three.

Harun’s court abounded with physicians, astro-
logers, philosophers, and poets : there was even
a serious madman ; for there are madmen of every
description. The caliph, astonished at the be-
haviour of this maniac, who fancied himself the
Almighty, but was on all other subjects perfectly
rational, said to him one day : “ A man has been
“ brought before me who counterfeits insanity,
“ and wishes to impose himself on us as a prophet
“ sent from God. I commanded him to prison ;
“ he has taken his trial, and is condemned to
“ lose his head.” The madman, who had been
listening very attentively to this relation, replied :
“ You have acted on this occasion like a faithful
“ servant : I did not grant the gift of prophecy
“ to this poor wretch ; neither has he received
“ any order or mission from me.”

One of his physicians, whose name was Ga-
briel, cured his favourite sultana in a very singular
manner. She had suddenly lost the use of her
hand, and every remedy was tried to remove this
infirmity, but without effect. Gabriel, who was
already in high repute for difficult cases, was ap-
plied to. He requested the caliph to desire the
lady to attend his levee ; there, before a number

of persons, he advanced and made a motion as if to undress her. The confused sultana hastily caught hold, with her lame hand, of the part of her dress which he was pulling off. The physician, turning towards the emperor, said: "Commander of the faithful, she is cured." The doctor gave such an explanation of his mode of acting, as proved him well acquainted with the force of the passions, and their effects.

The lesson Harun gave to a philosopher, whom he engaged as his private counsellor, ought to be studied by all those whom princes burthen with the care of their conscience. In his first conference, which the doctor wished to render worthy of his own reputation, the sublimity of the objects, and the majesty of his disciple, the caliph interrupted him, saying: "Listen to the conditions which must serve for the basis of our mutual good understanding. Never attempt to instruct me in public, nor be in haste to give me your advice in private. Wait till I question you; answer in a direct and precise manner, without any superfluous words. Take care you do not endeavour to prejudice me in favour of your sentiments, nor expect me to pay too great deference to your capacity. Use no prolixity in the histories or traditions you shall think proper to relate to me. Should you observe me quitting the path of rectitude, gently lead me back to it, without any harsh expressions.

“ Assist me in the orations I must make in public,
 “ in the mosque, or else-where ; in fine, never
 “ address me in equivocal terms.” That is, Ha-
 run liked the truth, modestly covered, but not
 disguised. One is astonished to find a sovereign
 with so thorough a knowledge of himself.

Musa Amin,
 26th caliph,
 308.

The division which Harun had made of his
 empire among his sons, must no doubt have given
 him a decided opinion of their disposition. In
 consequence of this observation, he ought to have
 left the chief throne, that of Bagdad, to his se-
 cond son Mamun, instead of Amin, the eldest ;
 but Mamun, who was peaceably settled in his go-
 vernment of Persia, felt little inclination for the
 supreme authority, and suffered his brother to sup-
 plant him. He willingly would have remained the
 second in rank, had not his brother, influenced by
 bad advisers, formed a plan to deprive him of it.
 Amin's character was not suited to succeed in such
 an attempt. Entirely devoted to pleasure, addict-
 ed to wine, passionately fond of gaming, dancing,
 and music ; he lived solely with his wives and
 eunuchs, foolishly lavishing on them his father's
 treasures, and not even sparing the portions allotted
 to the use of his brothers. He abandoned him-
 self in so scandalous a manner to every species of
 debauchery, that he was at last deposed both by
 the nobles and people, who, however, being af-
 fected by his seeming repentance, recalled him to
 the sovereignty ; but this lesson of adversity was

ineffectual—he returned once more to his former licentiousness. To these vices he joined the imprudence of openly attacking his brother Mamun, whom he considered as the author of his disgrace ; because when he was deposed his brother was on the point of being called to the throne. War was declared, and on the side of Mamun conducted with the most signal success, owing to the superior ability of Thaher, one of his generals, who obliged the caliph to retreat into his capital. Even this sense of immediate danger was not sufficient to rouse Amin from his accustomed supineness. While the enemy was at the gates of Bagdad—while the war-engines were hurling stones and fire on that devoted city, which was almost on the point of being taken by storm, he was quietly playing at chess with Kuthar his freedman. As long as he could pass his time with this Kuthar, every other concern was indifferent to him. A courier went to announce to him the defeat of the army, and death of the general : he was then amusing himself with fishing. “ Do not spoil my sport,” said he, “ for Kuthar has caught three large fishes, “ and I have not yet got one.” The principal inhabitants of Bagdad, not thinking themselves obliged to brave any further dangers for such a man, agreed to capitulate, which Amin being secretly informed of, he determined to be first ; and surrendered in the hope of his life being spared ;

but Thaher caused him to be beheaded. He was thirty years of age, of which he had reigned five.

Mamun,
27th caliph,
813.

As soon as Mamun's victories in the war which his brother forced him to wage had promised him success, he assumed the title of caliph. His title was acknowledged by the inhabitants of Bagdad after the siege, but not without some difficulty. He found no less than four rebels in arms against him in different parts of the empire; but he triumphed over all their machinations, by means of his general Thaher, to whom, as a recompense for his services, he gave the government of Ispahan, to descend to his posterity. Though Mamun was not the founder of that city, since become the capital of Persia, he must rank as its benefactor; for he considerably enlarged and adorned it, and would have preferred it for his fixed residence, had not the popular prejudice, accustomed to view Bagdad as the chief seat of empire, determined him to remove thither.

He wished to annihilate every pretext for schism, and even to abolish its colours. That which distinguished the Abbassides was black. Mamun attempted to introduce green, the colour worn by the house of Ali. This produced dissensions which nearly ripened into sedition, and obliged the caliph to suffer his Persians to resume the black, which they have continued ever since. His desire of uniting the different sects has injured him in

the opinion of rigid muffulmen. They fufpect his orthodoxy, and blame him for having introduced, or at leaft favoured, philosophy, and the other speculative fciences; “when,” fay they, “the Al-
“coran ought to fuffice all true believers.” It is not known whether it was to diminifh the authority of that book, but he commanded the governor of Bagdad to oblige the judges and teachers of traditions to infift that it is not eternal, but created, and feverely to punifh thofe who fhould fupport the contrary opinion. Astronomy, phyfic, and all the fciences, were held in honour during his reign. He invited all men of genius to his court, whether Indians, mageis, Jews, or chriftians, loaded them with wealth, and ordered their works to be tranflated. Al Mamun has rendered himfelf illuftrious not only by his love of learning, but alfo by his goodnefs. He ufed to fay, “Did but
“my fubjects know how vaft a fund of clemency
“I poffefs, even the greateft culprits would croud
“around me.” Beyond a doubt, the prince who bore this public testimony of himfelf could be in no fear of contradiction. He died at the age of forty-nine, after a reign of twenty years.

According to the will of Harun his father, Al Mota-
Al Mamun, though he had a fon, nominated Al <sup>Al Mota-
fem,
28th caliph,
832.</sup>
Motafem for his fucceffor. This prince was acknowledged by his nephew, obtained fome advantages by means of his generals, infifted like his

predecessor that the Alcoran is created, and displayed on the throne an astonishing degree of pomp and magnificence. He had, says his historian, 130,000 pie-bald horses in his stables; more perhaps than ever existed; each of which carrying a sack of earth fastened to its neck, enabled him to raise a mountain in the middle of Samarra, a city he had founded in Arabian Irak, having taken a dislike to Bagdad. He had eight sons, eight daughters; reigned eight years, eight months, and eight days; was born the eighth month of the year; was the eighth caliph of the house of the Abassides; fought eight battles, possessed eight thousand slaves, left eight millions of gold coin, and died at forty-eight years of age. All these eights have given him the name of caliph Octonary. He was the first who employed Turkish soldiers in his armies.

Al Wathek,
29th caliph,
841.

Al Wathek his son was also exposed to many conspiracies. It is very probable that they originated in the perseverance with which he pursued those who professed the eternity of the Alcoran. This dogma appears to have been a sort of rallying point: if the rebels would consent to make a recantation of their belief, they obtained the caliph's pardon. At his death the prisons were full of persons of the first quality in the empire, but their captivity was not severe. Wathek piqued himself on imitating his uncle Mamun in his clemency. He also resembled his grandfather Harun in his love of learning. He died at the age of thirty-two, of the

dropfy, caufed, it is thought, by the ftimulating potions which that prince, very much addicted to the sex, took to reanimate his paffions.

At the deceafe of Al Wathek the nobles balanced between Al Mothadi his fon, and Al Motawakkel his brother. They at length decided in favour of the latter, becaufe the former was too young to perform, in the quality of iman, the prayers in the mofque—an office exclusively belonging to the caliphate. This incapacity often inverted the order of fucceffion, and prevented the children from inheriting the father's throne. It is thought alfo, that Al Motawakkel owed his exaltation in a great meafure to the favour of a body of Turks with whom the caliphs had been furrounded fome time for their guard. This prince, like the caliph Harun, divided his empire between his three fons, who were appointed his fucceffors. It appears by this fecond diftribution that the empire was nearly the fame, notwithstanding the deftructive wars waged with the neighbouring nations, particularly with the Greeks, which ought either to have extended or contracted its limits. Thofe that were carried on under Al Motawakkel, to the full as fanguinary and as ruinous, produced no greater alteration.

Al Mota-
wakkel,
30th caliph,
846.

This prince is faid to have been a lover of learning; but his memory muft be held in deteftation by the Arabs, becaufe he was the firft of their emperors who, to the pain of death, added

the refinement of tortures. He is accused of having put some unhappy beings into a sort of iron chest full of spikes, which could be heated at pleasure; and of having replied to those who petitioned for their pardon, "Compassion is a proof of an ignoble soul." His amusements were of a nature cruelly capricious. At one time, when at table with his friends, a lion, by his order, was let loose in the apartment, to throw them into a state of terror; at another, he would cause serpents to be flung under the table, and pots full of scorpions to be broken, without any person being permitted to change his place; and he cured by means of an electuary those who had been stung or bitten. It no doubt was the apprehension of these dangerous diversions that prevented several men of science from fixing themselves at his court, although his invitations to them were accompanied with the most liberal promises. In fact, the treatment experienced by a christian physician, named Honain, was sufficient to make them unwilling to attend. To convince himself whether he might confide in this man, AlMotawakkel commanded him to prepare a mortal poison for one of his enemies; so subtle in its effect, that his dissolution might appear so perfectly natural, that no person should suspect him of his death. Honain rejected this proposal with horror. The emperor insisted, intreated, menaced, and confined him in prison a year. At the expiration of that period he was

brought into the caliph's presence, who renewed his solicitations and threats, The physician continued firm. "What can inspire you with this resolution," said the emperor, "when you see death before your eyes?" "Two things," replied Honain, "my religion, and my profession: the first teaches me to do good to my enemies, and to do no hurt to my friends; the second has been established for the advantage of the human race, and when I embraced it I took a solemn oath never to be concerned in any preparation of a hurtful or mortal nature." The caliph rejoiced, and gave him his entire confidence: but a favour bought by a year's imprisonment was not likely to tempt the learned, whom his munificence might otherwise have attached to him.

The conduct he observed towards those who surrounded him renders that which he is accused of towards his son at least probable. It is reported that he loaded him with ill treatment; that he insulted him, struck him, and inflicted the most severe punishments for the most trivial faults, and compelled him to drink wine to excess, to render him contemptible in the eyes of the Mussulmen, witnesses to his intoxication. This, they add, was what provoked the son to conspire against his father's life. But the murdered father had no advocate to plead his cause against the son living and on the throne; therefore it is possible that

his faults have been exaggerated both in their principle and effect : whereas there can exist no palliation for the crime of parricide, even though it were proved that the father had attempted the life of his son. Al Montaser reproached his father with having planned his death. Al Motawakkel, on the other hand, accused Al Montaser with deep-laid schemes to deprive him of life ; and he threatened to have both his mother and him tried in a court of justice. The dread of public detection made the son determine to anticipate his father's intention. He gained over the Turkish guard, whose captain the caliph had imprudently offended : some soldiers, stationed for that purpose, fell on him while he was at table, and stabbed him. During the confusion, and his efforts to defend himself, was Fatah, one of his favourites, trying to save him, and exclaiming with all his might, " Oh ! Motawakkel, I will not survive thee !" while his buffoon, at a little distance, was screaming to the full as loud : " Oh ! Motawakkel I hope " to live when you are no more !" The wishes of both were gratified.

To these murderous cabals were added religious disputes : the eternity of the Alcoran continued a subject of discord. The rivalry between the house of Ommiyah and Ali was frequently renewed : whatever caliph had favoured one sect, was almost sure of being succeeded by a prince who protected the other ; therefore the persecutions became in a

manner alternative. It may be called the vice of the age; for at that time the Greek emperors successively demolished the idols and adored them, and by persecuting edicts forced their subjects to embrace that faith and form of worship which they chose to profess themselves. The sectators of Ali were proscribed by Al Motawakkel, though protected by his three predecessors. He wished to prevent his people going in pilgrimage to the tomb of Hosein, and the better to attain that end, endeavoured to destroy every vestige of this monument. Not content with reducing it to ruin, he caused a river to flow over the spot. Vain attempt! The disciples of Ali piously believe that the waters respectfully stopped their course, and returned back into their channel. Motawakkel's reign, which was of fourteen years' duration, is remarkable for the scourges of every species which desolated the empire;—wars, rebellions, famine, persecutions, dreadful hurricanes, and violent earthquakes: hence it was called the reign of prodigies. This prince lived forty years.

Al Montafer affirmed in a public assembly that he was innocent of his father's death. He laid this crime to the charge of Fatah, who refused to survive his master; and said that it was to punish his villany that he had commanded him to be cut in pieces. But the parricide's remorse bore evidence to the crime. He dragged on a short, loathed existence, pursued by despair and the avenging

Al Montafer, 31st caliph, 861.

furies. He sought to annihilate every object which could remind him of this execrable deed. He demolished his father's palace, and quitted the city where his murder had been perpetrated. But it seemed the care of Providence to bring to his view what he anxiously wished to shun. Al Montaser was one day admiring a beautiful painting of a man on horseback with a diadem encircling his head, and a Persian inscription: he demanded the explanation: it was—"I am Shiruyeh, the son of Kosru Parviz, who murdered my father, and possessed the crown only six months." He turned pale, as if struck by a sentence of death. This was confirmed to his affrighted imagination by fearful dreams, showing him the ghastly corpse of his father calling him to the tomb. Thither he descended at the age of twenty-five years. It is suspected that his end was hastened by poison, given him by the instigators and accomplices of his crime, who dreaded the effects of his repentance.

Al Mostain,
32d caliph,
362.

This unhappy young man, besides his remorse, experienced every other cause of wretchedness, from his associating himself with villains, the least of which was his not being the master of his own actions. The two captains of the Turkish guard, the principal authors of the murder, compelled him to exclude his two brothers, Motaz and Mowaiad, from the caliphate, from the fear of their avenging their father's death. Finding themselves by that means empowered to choose, they appoint-

ed to the pontifical throne Mostain, cousin-german of the deceased. These officers shortly after quarrelled among themselves, and each of them aimed at seizing the person of the caliph. Him to whom the prince abandoned himself lost a battle, and fled with his caliph to Bagdad. The governor received him honourably, being charmed at having the chief of the empire in his possession. The other Turkish captain, as soon as he had expelled his rival, drew Motaz and Mowaiad out of prison, where they had been confined by Mostain. Under the banners of Motaz he laid siege to Bagdad, whose governor, totally indifferent in his choice of masters provided he was secured in his station by him who should be invested with the authority, counselled Al Mostain to abdicate, on condition of his life being spared, and a maintenance allowed him proportioned to the fortune he quitted. Al Motaz took the place, and continued to govern in his post. These cabals, wars, and negotiations, employed nearly four years, which was the duration of Al Mostain's reign. He was mild, indolent, and timid. This disposition ought to have ensured his life against the attempts of a rival; but he suffered himself to be easily influenced by different counsellors. This was sufficient to inspire fear, and he was assassinated, though at what period and what age is uncertain. The distant governors and generals taking advantage of these commotions, soon converted their obedience into a mere re-

spect. They acknowledged the caliph, ruled under the authority of his name; but executed his orders only when they coincided with their own interest.

Al Motaz,
33d caliph,
865.

Al Motaz on his accession to the throne massacred his two brothers, Mowaiad and Mowaffek, who had incurred his suspicion because they were very much beloved, and permitted Ahmed, a third, as a great favour, to live in obscurity at Bagdad. He no doubt had a counsellor, to whom a principal part of these crimes should be imputed; but in charging his counsellors with his bad actions, it is but just to grant them the honour of a prince of eighteen having the address to support himself, during four years, against the machinations of the Turkish troops, who were grown formidable.—Motaz sowed dissensions among the officers, and caused them to be the punishers of each other, for conspiring against the power of the caliphate, which it was their duty to protect. The chief part of the captains fell victims to the disputes he had occasioned. The emperor imagined he should easily control the rest by means of a troop of Magrebians, African musketeers, of whom he composed a guard; but these were cut to pieces by the Turks, who obliged the caliph to depose himself, and then made him die of hunger, at the age of twenty-two.

It is said that he might have escaped this fate by the aid of the sum of fifty thousand crowns,

which they demanded as their arrears. His finances were so badly supplied, that his coffers contained not so much; and he applied to Cubiah, his mother, who possessed immense treasures; but she refused him. When this step-mother was driven from the palace by her son's successor, her riches amounted to a million of gold crowns, a bushel of emeralds, another of pearls, and eleven pounds weight of very fine rubies.

The Turkish guard having the entire power, Al Mohtadi, 34th caliph, 868. granted the favour of filling the throne to Al Mohtadi, the son of Wathek, who was thirty-eight years old. In the space of a year, which he reigned, he cleared the palace of musicians, dancers, and buffoons; sent away the lions, dogs, and other animals which were kept by his predecessors; proscribed gaming and wine; and enforced the observance of the precepts of the Alcoran by his own example. He lessened the taxes, regulated the finances, and administered justice in person with the strictest impartiality. The people were anticipating their future happiness under the conduct of such a sovereign, when the Turkish guard, whose licentiousness he tried to restrain, conspired against him. They insolently preferred their unjust demand, to which he refused compliance. They proceeded to threats; but he remained steady in his resolution at the head of his Magrebians, who were again unfortunately vanquished. Some historians say that Al Mohtadi was killed in the affray; others,

that having been taken by the Turks he expired in torments which they inflicted on him, because he refused to abdicate the caliphate.

Al Motamed, 35th
caliph, 869.

Al Motawakkel, one of the former caliphs, had left two sons: Al Motamed, the eldest, was indolent, without any knowledge of state affairs, and wholly addicted to repose and pleasure; the second, named Al Mowaffek, was active, vigilant, courageous, and equally capable of governing in peace and war. The Turks did not choose the latter to succeed Al Mohtadi; perhaps they feared him: but Al Motamed, whom they elected, had the good sense to place an entire confidence in his brother, and to leave the administration of all affairs, both civil and military, to his decision; therefore every action of Al Motamed's caliphate ought to be ascribed to Al Mowaffek. He never laid down his arms during his government; sometimes they were employed against the rebels, sometimes against the Greeks. He was preparing measures to free his brother from the tyranny of the Turks, when an irruption of the people called Zenjians, commanded by Habib, their king, obliged him to have recourse to this dreaded phalanx, which he meant to destroy. The general of the Arabs compelled the Zenjians to quit his brother's territories, and killed their king; but he survived his triumph a very short time. A fit of illness carried him off in the flower of his age. He left a son, who supplied his place, and to whom the ca-

liph transferred the confidence he had given his father, that he might, under the guardianship of his nephew, continue to slumber in the bosom of pleasure, his sovereign good. He died at the age of fifty-three, after a reign of twenty-three years. His seal bore the following motto: "Happy is he whom the example of others instructs." This mode of instruction is not difficult. It was that which suited his disposition.

Although Al Motamed had a son named Giafar, he nominated his nephew Al Motaded to the caliphate; and even had him acknowledged during his life-time. This dignity added no increase to his power, which was absolute before his elevation. In his reign, abundance enriched the province, and the tranquillity of the empire was undisturbed, except by the inroads of the Karmatians, a sect of fanatics, whose origin is unknown. Under Al Motaded, a poor creature named Karmata came from Persia into Arabia. He appeared to lead a very austere life; said he was inspired, and that God had commanded him to pray fifty times a-day. When he had assembled a sufficient number of disciples, he chose from their number twelve men, to whom he gave the title of apostles, and appointed them to instruct the rest, and to propagate his doctrine. The governor of the province observing the peasantry neglect their labour to attend to their fifty prayers, threw the pretended saint into prison, and swore that he should die.

Al Motaded,
36th caliph,
892.

A young girl, a slave to the governor, heard this oath. Moved by compassion, in the dead of night, she took the keys of the prison from under her master's pillow, set the prophet at liberty, and replaced the keys. The following day when he could not be found, no doubt remained of his having been freed by a divine power. He shewed himself to some of his profelytes at a distance from the place, confirmed them in that belief, and asserted that no earthly power could hurt him; however, he was too prudent to venture the trial, and he was no more heard of. His doctrine was little different from Mahomet's. His disciples believed in angels, used genuflexions in their prayers, adhered rigorously to the appointed fasts, and professed nevertheless a rancorous hatred to the mahometans, to whom they gave no quarter. The Karmatians increased prodigiously in a short period. Al Motaded had need of all his forces to drive them from the centre of his dominions. Under the mask of devotion they practised the most abominable libertinism, which excess gained over to them many of the soldiers. They afterwards formed themselves into numerous armies, and carried devastation through the finest provinces of Asia.

Al Motaded was just, though very severe. His reign, which was of ten years' duration, was tranquil. This caliph was near fifty when he died, either by poison, or exhausted by pleasure. The sciences

flourished under his protection, and he liberally recompensed those who cultivated them.

The very day of his father's decease, Al Moctafi Al Moctafi, 36th caliph, 901. was proclaimed caliph at Bagdad, while he was absent on a military expedition. The Karmatians appeared in several parts of his dominions, in armies amounting to an hundred thousand men. One of them was commanded by a youthful general of twenty-two, named Hosein, who joining artifice to valour, pretended he was descended in a direct line from Mahomet; and in proof of his assertion shewed a wart on his face, like that on the face of the prophet. Thus we see these Karmatians, though inveterate enemies to the mussulmen, identifying, as it were, their immediate propinquity, where their interest was concerned; for ambition and cupidity will even adopt contrary measures to attain their desires.

If the Karmatians were sanguinary and cruel to their foes, they in their turn experienced a similar treatment. Their chiefs, amongst whom was Hosein, fell into the power of Al Moctafi, and by his order expired in excruciating tortures. The caliph's armies were also numerous, and well commanded. Egypt and Syria, which had been separated from the empire under some of his predecessors, were reunited to it. In despite of all his precautions, a caravan from Mecca was, in his reign, for the first time, plundered likewise by the formidable Karmatians, who carried off an im-

menſe booty ; but being ſurprized in the act of dividing it, they were compelled to relinquish their ſpoil. Al Moctafi, beſides his land forces, was alſo poſſeſſed of fleets. Either in perſon, or by his generals, he gave frequent battle to the Greeks and Turks. He filled the throne only fix years, and died at the age of thirty. He rarely ſlept above four hours ; the remainder of the night was divided between ſtudy and the affairs of government. He left the finances in an excellent ſtate, and great armies on foot. Authors pronounce him good and humane ; and that notwithstanding the wars in which he engaged, he lamented that effuſion of blood which neceſſity obliged him to ſhed. What a man would Moctafi have become, had his career not been ſo early ſtopped !

Moktader,
38th caliph,
907.

All thoſe who had any ſway in the empire had an intereſt in ſeeing a youth on the throne :—the miniſters to govern according to their inclination ; the commanders of the provinces to exerciſe their authority without the fear of control ; the armies to live in unreſtrained licentiouſneſs ; the inhabitants of Bagdad to obtain privileges and grants. Moktader, therefore, was elected at the age of fourteen, by the unanimous voice of the empire. We muſt not omit another claſs of ſuffrages for which he was indebted to his youth, and which was not the leaſt powerful, viz. that of the women and eunuchs, who flattered themſelves they ſhould

easily acquire an influence over the mind of so young a man. Nor were their hopes disappointed. Historians do not name the number of women residing in the palace; but they make that of the black eunuchs amount to thirty, and the white to forty thousand. This enumeration is found in a description given by a Greek ambassador, from which we may form a just idea of the magnificence of the caliph's court at that period.

The imperial palace was adorned with the most costly furniture, and every kind of arms. The regiments of guards, to the number of sixteen thousand, were ranged in order of battle; they received their pay in purses of gold. Seven hundred attendants and porters were stationed in the avenues and gateways. The Tigris was covered with vessels superbly ornamented, exhibiting a most brilliant spectacle. Within and without the palace were spread sixteen thousand pieces of silk, five hundred of brocade, and twelve thousand five hundred carpets of most exquisite workmanship and inestimable value. In the centre of the hall of audience arose a tree of massive gold; eighteen principal branches proceeding from it, on which an infinite variety of gold and silver birds were seen fluttering their wings, and singing harmoniously. This pompous display was intended to inspire the Greeks with an exalted opinion of the caliph's power, and to deter them from forming any designs of war. Moktader had full exercise for his

troops against the Karmatians, who continued to disturb the tranquillity of the empire. Their principal expedition was conducted by a young man of nineteen, named Thaher. The caliph was nearly of the same age; however, he did not choose to risk engaging with him, but sent his generals. The efforts of these could not prevent the young Karmatian from stopping a caravan, and giving it up to be plundered by his soldiers;—a very encouraging bait for his troops;—nor from penetrating into the territory of Mecca. He entered the city, massacred a great number of pilgrims in the temple, filled the sacred well with dead bodies, demolished many of the buildings, despoiled the Caaba of all its ornaments, and amongst other acts of profanation carried off the famous black stone, which was an object of as much veneration to the Mussulmen as the ark of the covenant was to the Israelites. The inhabitants of Mecca offered an immense sum for its ransom, which the Karmatians refused to accept. To depreciate the reputation of this stone, they published that it possessed no virtue whatever. The pious Mussulmen, by way of defiance, advised the purloiners to plunge it into water; when, to the astonishment of the incredulous, it swam. They then returned it to its owners. When they sacked the holy city, a prince of Mecca was slain, and all the decorations of the temple, and the treasures of the place, became the spoils of the conquerors.

These misfortunes which attacked religion were imputed by the zealots to their chief. The increase of taxes, and the bad administration of justice, irritated the inhabitants of Bagdad. They complained that the caliph never acted for himself; but suffered his wives and his eunuchs to govern him. The armies, beaten in several engagements, and their pay badly supplied, murmured loudly on both accounts, and attributed their frequent defeats, as well as their neglected arrears, to the emperor's inactivity. From murmurs they proceeded to rebellion, and compelled Munes their general to conform to their will, and depose the caliph. Al Kaher, his brother, was elected in his stead; but in the space of three days the soldiers, repenting of their precipitation, recalled Al Moktader to the throne. He seemed to harbour no resentment against his brother; but whether to punish an insurrection to which he was said to have excited, or some other cause, Al Kaher was thrown into prison. In his dungeon he planned his brother's death; the circumstances of which are remarkable. Al Moktader was a great lover of horse-racing. Al Kaher gained over an African, who was an excellent horseman, to present himself as such to his brother. He acquitted himself with so much dexterity and gracefulness, that the caliph made him recommence several times, and ordered his guard to retire to some distance, that he might have a better view of him. At this moment the African

urged his horse against the caliph, and thrust a javelin with such force into his breast, that he instantly fell dead from his seat. The African rode off full speed towards the prison to liberate Al Kaher. Passing through the market he met an ass loaded with briars; his horse started, reared, and threw his rider on one of the shambles, where he remained suspended by the chin on a hook. His horse escaped from under him, and the populace, who were pursuing him, finding him in this state, took the briars from off the ass, set fire to them, and burnt the assassin. Thus was Al Moktader's murder punished almost as soon as perpetrated. He was thirty-eight years old, and had reigned twenty-five.

Without questioning the capacity of women for attaining the sciences, we may reasonably be surprized at finding a young female of his court considered as the oracle of justice. Her name was Yamek; and she possessed so profound a knowledge of all the mahometan laws, that in most civil and criminal causes the judges had recourse to her superior wisdom.

Al Kaher,
39th caliph,
953

Munes wished to raise his ward Abul Abbas Mostafi, the son of Moktader, to the caliphate; but the partisans of Al Kaher prevailed. He quitted a prison for a throne: from the throne, a year after, he returned to a prison. At a future period he supported a more miserable life, though at liberty, than he had done in chains; but unfor-

unately he merited these distressing vicissitudes. As soon as he became master, Al Moktader's children, his concubines, and domestics, were ordered into his presence, and put to the torture to force from them a discovery of the treasures his predecessor had distributed among them. He even shewed no pity to his brother's mother, who had saved his life, by preventing the caliph's intention of dispatching him. On the simple suspicion that Ahmed, the son of Moctafi, meant to usurp his dignity, the barbarian called him into one of the inmost recesses of the palace, and had him nailed to the wall by the hands and feet; then, being always pressed for money, he sent for Abu-Yahya, a man of the robe, and very rich, and commanded him to count him down a large sum. The lawyer declared that it was not in his power. "Ahmed," said the tyrant, "who is in the next apartment, told me you could, and he is of opinion that you should." Abu-Yahya went there to explain himself. On entering the chamber, the appalling spectacle that struck his sight chilled him with fear and horror: he promised, and gave all that the savage required.

The Turkish militia, though unjust to several of his predecessors, whom they compelled to abdicate, performed an act of equity when they hurled him from the throne. After putting out his eyes, they once more cast him into prison, where he remained twelve years. One of his successors set him

at liberty ; but without bestowing on him, they do not say enough to support himself in any commerce, but not even sufficient to procure the necessaries of life. A cotemporary historian has written that he had seen him at the door of the grand mosque of Bagdad, covered with rags, and stretching out his hand to the people, whom he addressed in the following terms : “ Pray remember him “ who was once your caliph, and is now reduced “ to ask alms of you.” He died, not of vexation and grief, but of illness, in his fifty-fifth year.

Al Radi,
40th caliph,
933.

As soon as Al Kaher was deposed, Al Radi, his nephew, the son of Al Moktader, was proclaimed caliph. But how much was this dignity degraded! how inconsiderable was the circle of its power, compared to its former grandeur! Arabian Irak, Persian Irak, Fars, or Persia—properly so called; the cities of Basra, Cufa, and Mosul—these ancient and important domains ; Egypt, Syria, Spain, the mussulman provinces in Sicily and Crete, Georgia, Kerman ; all these vast and extensive countries had passed into the possession of sovereigns who, though they respected the caliph of Bagdad, allowed him a degree of pre-eminence rather in religious concerns than in the political government. In reality, Bagdad and its environs were all that remained to the caliph ; but, as if this small portion were too difficult to govern, Al Radi instituted a post superior to that of vizier, which he named *emir-al-omra*, that is to say, commandant of commandants.

Even during his life-time, his ambitious courtiers disputed this station with arms in their hands; and very soon the only privileges the caliphs enjoyed were, those of stamping the coin with their name, performing public prayer in the grand mosque, hearing themselves proclaimed during divine service, and deciding in judicial causes when they were applied to.

The decline of this once mighty empire originated in the vicious conduct of its emperors, the shortness of their reigns, the little regard paid to the order of succession, the power of the military, and the rebellious disposition of the people, especially the inhabitants of Bagdad, who thought they only possessed the right of directing the machine of government. As if these various causes of approaching destruction were insufficient, a multitude of different sects had arisen, all of them solicitous to weaken the mahometan faith, and the respect, one may even say adoration, which till then had been rendered the caliphs. We have observed in what manner, by propagating his schismatic doctrines, Karmata, a simple individual, whose birth and fate are unknown, gained an army of proselytes who struck a fatal blow at islamism even in its very sanctuary; in the reign of Al Radi, Shalmageni, thus called from the name of his country, taught that the divinity resided in every creature, and that the soul transmigrated from one body into another, during an indeter-

minate number of ages. He disbelieved the mission of Mahomet. Being cited before a judge, he did not insist on the tenets he disseminated, a proof that he was more inclined to establish a new religion than convinced himself. He was condemned to suffer death, and executed with great solemnity to deter his followers. These dogmas shew that the system of Spinoza is not new; all that can be allowed to the Jewish philosopher is the honour of attempting to demonstrate it. With respect to the doctrine of the metempsychosis, were it not folly to seek to develop the cause of the happiness or misery of created beings, it would be the most ingenious, and the least irrational, of all heterodoxical systems.

Al Radi reigned dependent on the emirs-al-omras, not only those of his own creating, but those who forcibly tore the authority from his grasp. He kept this shadow of dignity almost seven years, and died at thirty. Historians describe him as possessed of goodness and humanity, a taste for literature, particularly poetry, which he cultivated with success, and even allow him political talents, which the fatality of events prevented him from displaying.

Henceforth the caliphs of Bagdad will not occupy a more exalted station in history than they did in the theatre of their wonted grandeur, in which reduced to fill the offices of iman, or pontiff of the laws; that is to say, their promotions will supply the place of dates, to which will be referred

the curious or interesting incidents which may be offered to our observation in this degenerate empire.

Though revolutions inspire fears, they also foster hope. Al Mottaki, the son of Al Moktader, deprived of the throne, to which Munes endeavoured to raise him, after his father's assassination, saw his turn arrive after two successors; but what a throne did he possess! Al Radi was the last Mussulman emperor who commanded the armies, administered the finances, and who possessed any real authority over the Arabs. Those who followed had the imprudence not even to assert an exclusive privilege to officiate in the mosque. This function, so often performed by others, diminished the veneration of the people, especially at a time when their chief had committed the still greater imprudence of investing all the military power in the hands of the emirs. The caliphs strangely deceived themselves in supposing, that because they appointed to that dignity it was in their power. They deposed some emirs, it is true, but they were themselves more frequently deposed by the emirs.

Al Mottaki,
4th caliph,
940.

Al Mottaki experienced this sad reverse. He displaced the emir of his predecessor, and was himself driven from his capital by the one he elected. Another, to execute the plan he had formed, flattered him with the hope of re-establishing him at Bagdad by the aid of a body of troops under his command. The caliph, relying on this promise of

the emir Tuzun, went to join him in his camp. As soon as the emir perceived him, he quitted his horse, walked by the side of his stirrup, prostrated himself, and treated him and his family with every mark of respect and honour. He wrote at the same time to Bagdad, desiring that Al Mostacfi, the son of Al Mottafi, should be sent to him. The scene then changed. The unfortunate Al Mottaki was torn from the throne, and the emir, not content with this act of injustice, added to it the execrable one of depriving him of sight. He was then left to wander a most wretched mendicant, in the tattered garb of poverty, and wooden shoes, the only covering for his feet. He dragged on a miserable existence in this degraded state to the age of sixty years, of which he had reigned four.

During his short pontificate, two sects arose, very violent antagonists, and rancorous enemies to each other. Their disputes were on an incomprehensible subject, which has afforded matter for extremely vehement disputations. The point in contest was, whether God governs all things by general, or by partial laws; whether his orders always are best and most expedient; or whether he has thrown promiscuously a portion of good and ill into the lot of every mortal, not according to his merit, but the universal law; consequently, whether predestination be absolute, or relative. Al-Afhari supported the former system against Jobbais, who had been his master; and to prove the governance of God by

a general providence, he maintained the injustice of a partial Providence. He proposed his argument in the following question : “ What do you think would be the fate of three brothers, one of whom lived in the observance of God’s commandments; the other in open defiance of them; and the third died in infancy ?” Jobbais replied, “ The first would be recompensed in heaven, the second punished in hell, and the third neither punished nor rewarded.” “ Then,” answered Al-Ashari, “ might not the third say: Lord, had you granted me a longer life, I also might have entered, with my dear brother, into the dwellings of the blessed, and my lot would have been more happy ?” “ That is true,” returned Jobbais, “ but God would answer, I knew that you would become wicked had your life been prolonged, and that you would have been cast into hell.” “ In that case the second might rejoin: Why, Lord, did you not remove me also in my childhood? I should not then have merited the punishment of my sins, nor be cast into hell.” Hence Al-Ashari inferred that God must have been capable of premeditated injustice and cruelty, in suffering the second brother to become rebellious and punishable. To obviate, therefore, this charge of injustice and cruelty, he held that God does not fix the destiny of individuals; but abandons them to the influence of general laws. But as it would be of greater advantage to the

human race that the Deity should have annihilated evil, and predestinated every one to happiness, it follows that God does not do always what is best; and that he has not created the best of all possible worlds. Thus we see, the dogma of optimism is not new, and the Jansenists and Molinists will be surprized, perhaps, at finding their absolute decrees, and their *scientia media*, already known among the Arabs.

Al Mostacfi,
422 caliph,
945.

Al Mottaki was succeeded by Al Mostacfi, the son of Al Mottafi. One of his wives, named Alan, by her cabals, favoured his elevation to the throne; and the same intriguer, either from resentment or accident, contributed to his degradation. They were both punished by the emir, their accomplice, for the injustice Al Mottaki had endured. A year after, Al Mostacfi was deprived of sight at the age of forty-one. Alan was also seized by the conspirators, who cut out her tongue.

Al Moti,
432 caliph,
945.

The descendants of Al Moktader, after two intermediate successions, once more appeared on the throne of the caliphs, in the person of Al Moti, his son. The father was sovereign of Bagdad and its environs. Al Moti was confined to a part of the city, and his whole administrative and diplomatic corps consisted of one secretary. Peace and war, however, were carried on in his name, whether foreign or domestic; with the Greeks or the Karmatians; but though in his name he had no casting voice.

The very existence of this court depending on the pious veneration of the people, made the persons who composed it scrupulously attentive and punctual in the discharge of all the mahometan rites. It was also the centre of literary controversy; but the real sciences being but poorly recompensed by caliphs no longer opulent, under Moti, quitted Bagdad for Aleppo, where they were honourably received and protected by a magnificent and generous prince, named Abul Azan. He was illustrious for his greatness of soul, his valour, his erudition, his love of justice, and his strict observance of all religious duties. His palace was the abode of poets and philosophers, of whom none on their departure had cause to complain of his want of liberality or unkindness. He reigned as sovereign prince over this division of the ancient empire, which he had converted into a flourishing state. While the wretched caliph was deprived even of necessities by the rapacity of his emir, the latter abandoned himself to pleasure, and the indulgence of every extravagance, insolently depending on his master's œconomy as his means of supporting them. On an occasion when the finances were insufficient to pay the arrears of the militia, he demanded the sum from the pontiff, who in reply urged the impossibility of satisfying his demands: "You had better acquiesce with a good grace," said the emir, "than wait

“ till you are forced.” This menace so terrified the prince, that he even sold the furniture of his palace, and remitted the money to the emir, who in a short time dissipated the whole. Al Moti filled the throne twenty-nine years in this state of abject dependence. He abdicated at the age of sixty-three, and died about two months after.

Al Tay,
44th caliph,
973.

Al Moti possessed only the virtues of a private person, and transmitted no other to his son, who resembled him likewise in his œconomical propensity; but which was not of more utility to him than it had been to his father. It appeared as if the caliphs amassed wealth for the emirs to lavish. At the termination of the eighteenth year of his reign, the emir suspecting that the caliph in this time had filled his coffers, and that the sum must be considerable, asked that prince's permission to pay him a visit in his palace. Al Tay, without mistrust, admitted him, and even prepared a banquet for his reception. The emir arrived, prostrated himself before the commander of the true believers, and took his place on the seat allotted him. During this ceremony a number of soldiers entered, under the pretext of accompanying the emir. They soon overpowered the attendants, dragged the caliph from the throne, rolled him up in a carpet, and carried him to a distance from the palace, where they compelled him to abdicate. He lived twelve years after that event, and died at the age of seventy-three.

Though the throne had suffered such degradation, still it occupied the thoughts of those who had any pretensions to it, and appeared to them an object of desire. The courier who was commissioned to inform Al Tay's successor of his election, found him relating to his friends a dream of the preceding night, which predicted his future greatness. His name was Al Kader, he was the grandson of Al Moktader, to whose family the caliphate returned. Was it from flexibility of character, the habit of yielding to circumstances, from being neither too much elated by prosperity, nor too sensibly affected by adversity, that he was enabled to extend his political career to forty-three years, and to prolong his life to eighty-six? The history of his reign is filled with the actions of others. It is necessary to select the facts with great discernment; for an historian of the present day, turning over the leaves of a volume of their annals, on being asked what he was doing, candidly replied, "I am compiling of falsehoods and trifles."

An author has ennobled the word trifle, by adding to it the epithet moral; to this class may be admitted the laconic reflexion of Al Aziz, caliph of Egypt. A satirical poet had written some severe verses against his vizier, in which the sovereign was not spared. The minister complained to the caliph, and entreated him to punish the author. Aziz replied: "As I share the insult with you, I wish you to share with me the merit of par-

“ doning the offence.” The contrast of this language of clemency is to be found in a proclamation, a sort of manifesto, of Kader’s against the caliphs of Egypt. It breathed all the rancour of theological animosity. “ The man who has usurped the throne,” said he, “ is sprung up like a mushroom from his original nothingness, upon whom may God pour down all his wrath and indignation—a son of Said’s, on whom God never bestowed any inheritance; the descendant of ancestors that were the scum of the human race, the scourge of society, the disgrace of humanity, wretches and impostors ! May the eternal malediction of God light on these outcasts, these rebels ! May they be for ever execrated by all true lovers of virtue !”

During the reign of Al Kader, Kabus king of Mazanderan was dethroned by his subjects, who accused him of too great severity. “ It is a false pretext,” replied he ; “ I am reduced to this unfortunate situation only because of my lenity to five or six of you whose blood I should have shed.” The insurgents sent for his son, whom they compelled to accept the sceptre, threatening, if he persisted in his refusal, to give it to a stranger. As soon as he was inaugurated he went in search of his father, threw himself at his feet, offered to re-instate him, and to march against the rebels. Kabus, who had retired to a distant castle, charmed to find his son possessed of such filial sentiments,

answered him : “ In this place I mean to end my “ exploits and my life. Do you enjoy my authority ; I give it to you.” In this retreat his days rolled serenely on, and he tasted the pure and tranquil pleasures which the sciences bestow on those who feel their value. But his enemies believing it impossible that he could ever pardon the wrongs they had done him, put a period to his life by poison.

The cause of the antipathy of Hakem, the caliph of Egypt, to women is unknown ; but it is certain that he punished them with a most astonishing degree of severity, prohibiting them to quit their houses, or even walk on the terraces. To put it beyond their power to disobey him, and effectually to prevent their appearing in the streets of public places, he prohibited any shoes being made to suit them, and shut up the markets lest they should be obliged to attend them. Men carried their merchandize through the streets, and the women made their purchases without leaving the door, or death was the consequence of the transgression. It was but just that this tyranny should be punished by a woman. Hakem was murdered at the instigation of his sister, and that no one might suspect her as an accomplice, she stabbed the assassins with her own hand.

Mahmud Gazni, from simple governor of Khorasan, became in the caliphate of Kader a mighty prince, and an illustrious conqueror. He subdued

a part of India, and in one of these countries found a temple, whose idol, composed of one solid stone, measured fifty cubits in height. He destroyed it, immolated fifty thousand of its worshippers, and despoiled the temple of twelve columns of massive gold, covered with rubies, and a variety of other precious stones. The gigantic monuments still seen there, prove that in this sort of workmanship India was not inferior to Egypt. The riches which Mahmud obtained from the treasure of one Indian king only renders probable the accounts we read of the golden pillars. Millions in gold and silver, diamonds in astonishing profusion, magnificent furniture, brocades of inestimable value—all became the spoil of the Persian, without his striking a blow; as did likewise the crown of the Indian, who vainly flattered himself that his making no resistance would entitle him, not only to indulgence, but to the restoration of his throne. Mahmud cruelly undeceived him, and taught him a lesson which should serve as a warning to princes, who, influenced by such a hope, should be tempted to trust to the moderation of their enemies. He thus addressed the feeble monarch: “Have you read history? Can you play at chess?” “Yes,” replied he. “Well,” resumed Mahmud, “did you ever find two kings reigning together in the same nation; or at chess, two kings occupying the same field? Why then were you, who had the means of defence, so impru-

“dent as to suffer me to become master of your
“person and your domain?” He sent him into Persia, to Gazna his capital, where he permitted him to live, probably because his death was of no utility. This should be duly weighed by all those whom fate reduces to the cruel alternative of braving death on the defensive, or enduring it ingloriously by submitting to the foe.

A poor man complained to Mahmud of one of his soldiers having forcibly entered his house in the night, and obliged him to quit it, with his wife and children. “If he should return,” said the prince, “let me know.” The soldier did return, and the poor man hastened to inform the sultan, who went with him to his dwelling, ordered the lights to be extinguished, and cut the intruder in pieces. Then commanding the flambeaux to be lighted, he gazed earnestly on the face of him he had put to death, prostrated himself, offered up a prayer of thanksgiving to God, and asked for some refreshment. Barley bread and four wine were all there was to set before him, and with a contented and cheerful air he ate and drank of these with an appetite. His host begged to know why the lights had been extinguished, and how he could be satisfied with such coarse fare. Mahmud replied: “Ever since your complaint my mind has
“been harassed with the thought that none but
“one of my own sons would have dared to com-
“mit such an act of audacity. I had resolved to

“ shew him no lenity, and commanded the lights
 “ to be put out that his sight might not affect
 “ me; but on seeing that the criminal was not
 “ my son, I returned thanks to the Almighty. In
 “ short, my being content with the food you
 “ placed before me is not surprizing, for the
 “ anxiety I have suffered these three days for the
 “ injury done you, deprived me both of appetite
 “ and rest.” This prince, who was extremely
 ugly, grieved at his want of personal beauty lest
 it should diminish the esteem and affection of his
 subjects. A poet said to him once on that oc-
 casion: “ If your morals are never more deform-
 “ ed than your features, no one will have reason
 “ to complain.” From this physical defect he
 deduced a moral reflexion, well deserving the at-
 tention of even those who do not think themselves
 homely. Like Mahmud, as they look in a glass,
 they should say: “ I observe so many faults in my-
 “ self that I can easily forget those of others.”
 Some time before his death he fixed his residence
 in India, where he zealously propagated the ma-
 hometan faith.

Al Kayem,
 46th caliph,
 1030.

Al Kayem peaceably took possession of his father's
 throne. A reign of forty-four years serves but
 to comprize feats of arms, victories, and rebellions
 in which he was scarcely concerned. We can only
 observe that one of the latter drove him from
 the throne, to which his repenting subjects shortly
 after recalled him. It is pleasing to believe that

he owed his re-instatement to his virtues ; for he was learned, mild, patient, popular, just, fearing God, competent to state affairs, and capable of giving excellent counsel. His enemies listened to his advice, and his influence preserved peace in his reduced dominions. The Seljuk Turks, afterwards so renowned for their military exploits, first appeared during his reign. Between the successful and unfortunate events of that period, we may place the composition of a variety of books written on the subject of medicine, and the very high respect paid at the mahometan courts to the profession of that science. The celebrated Avicenna flourished about this time. He was both a physician and a poet. Astrology was the only talent wanted to have perfected him for the friend of the great. This physician was afflicted with ill health, and it is said that he was not more vain in regard of his morals, though he wrote treatises to prevent the former and regulate the latter. His epitaph, written by a satirical poet, imported ; that his scientific and philosophic works had not taught him morality, nor his medicinal the art of preserving his health.

Al Kayem died at seventy-six, and was succeeded by his son Al Moktadi, who was only eighteen. He has the character of a brave and magnanimous prince, extremely well versed in all the customs and rites of mahometism, and much respected by his subjects. This caliph, instead of an emir, was

Al Moktadi,
47th caliph,
1074.

obliged to suffer a king, or sultan in Bagdad, invested by him with the authority: it was only changing the name of his ruler. Al Moktadi was very charitable, and attached to persons of merit and learning. His intimate knowledge of the laws enabled him to reform many abuses during a reign of nineteen years. This caliph's court was not necessitated, like that of his predecessor's, to observe the rigid rules of economy. The festivals given in consequence of his marriage are described as surpassing in point of magnificence whatever of the sort had been seen before. Eighty thousand pounds of sugar they mention to have been consumed in the desert alone, and all the rest was in proportion. Al Moktadi died suddenly at the age of thirty-nine.

Al Mostadher, 48th caliph, 1094.

His son Al Mostadher was immediately proclaimed caliph, but could not assume the authority without the consent of Barkiarok the emir, king, or sultan, for he bore all these titles. He inaugurated the caliph, who reciprocally invested him with the power, gave him the appellation of the column or support of religion, and commanded that prayers should be offered up for him in the mosque. It should seem that these nominal prayers were a sort of consecration which, in the eyes of the people, rendered the authority of the chiefs of the police and the armies lawful. The caliph of Bagdad was the dispenser of this favour, which was solicited by the sovereigns of Damascus, Aleppo, Antioch, and

even by those of Egypt and Persia. They all assumed the title of caliph, but still they acknowledged the pre-eminence of the throne of Bagdad. To his arbitration was referred treaties between rival princes; their agreements passed in his presence, to which he gave his sanction. Without doubt some compensation was made him for his trouble, and that perhaps might constitute one of the principal sources of his revenue. It appears that the quality most desirable in him was that of a conciliator, well acquainted with the laws, and the friend of peace. It certainly were to be wished also that his manners should be gentle and persuasive, and his morals irreproachable, that the public esteem might give weight to his decisions. These virtues were Mostadi's, and they added lustre to the throne of the caliphs during a reign of twenty-five years. He died at the age of forty-two.

His son Al Mostarshed in some degree revived the ancient splendour of the caliphate. He would not suffer any dictator; but acted for himself. He had recourse to no foreign aid to subdue his brother Hafan, who aspired to his dignity; but gave him battle, defeated his troops, took him prisoner, and pardoned him. A caliph of Bagdad was now seen at the head of his armies, not only exercising an independent authority in the city; but attempting to extend it once more over princes who imagined that deference was all they owed

Al Mostarshed, 49th caliph, 1113.

him. He had the temerity to deprive Masud, a Seljuk prince, of public prayers, which was in a manner deposing him, and to support the sentence by arms. It is true he was defeated, but not till after several victories, which have gained him the reputation of a warlike chief. Even though degraded, and fallen into the hands of his enemies, he still forced them to respect him. Masud at length consented to treat, but only with a view of covering the design he meditated. Mostarshed was found murdered in his tent while under the safeguard of Masud, who appears to have taken no measures for the discovery or punishment of the assassins. This caliph at his death was forty-four years old, and had reigned seventeen. He is said to have possessed the rare talent of expressing much in a few words.

Al Rashed,
50th caliph,
1134

Masud permitted Al Rashed to fill the throne of Mostarshed; but apprehending that the young prince would revenge his father's murder, he obliged him to sign a deed to the following purport: "If ever I raise troops—if I quit Bagdad—if I put to death any person attached to sultan Masud, I shall have deposed myself." The expected event soon occurred. Masud demanded a sum of money which he insisted the caliph had promised him; to which the latter refused compliance, and recalled the troops from the neighbouring provinces to his assistance. Masud besieged him in his capital: dissensions arose between

the allies, and the pontiff, extremely pressed by the enemy, considered himself as fortunate in securing his safety by flight. Masud entered Bagdad, assembled the judges and doctors of the law, and shewed them the writing by which Al Rasheed had deposed himself. Who had been the aggressor, or whether Masud had not given the pontiff provocation, was not the subject of enquiry. Masud was the strongest: and Rasheed was deposed by unanimous consent, after reigning but one year.

The same assembly proclaimed Al Moktasi, uncle to the deposed prince. As he owed his elevation to Masud, he suffered him to remain sole master, and took no active part in the government during the sultan's life; but after his death he assumed the reins of authority, not only in Bagdad, but a considerable extent of Persia and Arabia, which had been subject to Masud. His reign, a period of twenty years, was glorious and successful. He died at the age of sixty-six, universally esteemed and regretted.

Al Moktasi,
51st caliph,
1133.

Several years prior to his demise, Al Moktasi had declared his son Al Mostaujed caliph, who immediately mounted the throne, and governed peaceably during eleven years. His was the reign of justice, which the following anecdote will prove. A man being convicted of calumny, was sent by him to prison. One of his nobles offered to give him two thousand pieces of gold coin for his release; to which the caliph replied, "Put another man

Al Mostaujed,
52d caliph,
1160.

“ guilty of the same crime in my power, and I will
 “ give you ten thousand, for I am extremely anxi-
 “ ous to clear my dominions of these pests of so-
 “ ciety.” He died at the age of fifty-six ; mur-
 dered, it is suspected, by his chamberlain, who
 dreaded the effects of his severe justice.

Al Mostadi,
 53d caliph,
 1170.

The succeeding day Al Mostadi, the son of Mostaunjed, was proclaimed, and acknowledged by the officers of the palace, and the chief nobles of the court, to the great joy of the people, who were no strangers to his many virtues. Nor were their expectations disappointed ; for, like his father, he was eminent for his love of justice, and in his unbounded charity even surpassed him. In his person were re-united the legitimate power of the mussulman sovereign pontiff, by the abolition of the caliphate of the Fatamite caliphs in Egypt. He had no concern in this revolution, which was effected by the conflicts between the nobles, who aspiring to the sovereignty, endeavoured to acquire a right to it in the sight of the people. By refusing the investiture of the caliph of Bagdad, they themselves ceased to be caliphs. Such was the famous Saladin, who was cotemporary with Al Mostadi. Many other chiefs of tribes, generals of armies, warriors, and conquerors, flourished also in his reign.

He extricated himself with singular address from a dangerous sedition, excited by Kimar his general, who hated the vizier, and had determined to put

him to death. On arriving at his house, which he immediately invested by the troops under his command, he found that the vizier had escaped, and taken refuge in the caliph's palace. Kimar persisting in his intention, led on his forces towards the imperial residence, attended by a great concourse of the populace. Al Mostadi appeared on the balcony, and addressing the multitude, said: "You witness the audacity of Kimar, who has even the temerity to brave me in my palace. As a punishment for his offence, I give you all his treasures." The croud hearing that plunder was permitted them, turned eagerly towards Kimar's house, followed by the soldiery, who hastened to defend it. By this expedient the insurrection was quelled, and the life of the vizier saved. Al Mostadi was thirty years old at his death, and had reigned ten.

Al Nafer, the son of Al Mostadi, was elected to his father's dignity by the care of the vizier, who prevailed on the nobility, and the principal inhabitants of Bagdad, to take the oath of allegiance; but the influence of the minister did not extend to the commonalty. This vizier governed with wisdom, and was eminent for his probity, temperance, and virtue: never had he injured any individual either in fortune or reputation; but notwithstanding, without any known reason, he fell a victim to the fury of the populace, who murdered him, and ignominiously dragged his bleeding corpse through

Al Nafer,
54th caliph,
1180.

the public streets. The young caliph wanted his father's firmness and vigour of mind to oppose this act of violence; besides, he appears to have been one of those characters who make every sacrifice to their own tranquillity. His reign is the date of the exploits of Saladin, of the most enthusiastic war which distinguished the crusades, and of the irruptions of the moguls into the musulman dominions, which prepared the way for the conquests of the renowned Jenghis Khan; but all these combined events had no power to rouse him for a moment from his beloved repose. He amassed riches, which he expended in his pleasures, and also on some useful establishments, but learning was little esteemed by him, and its possessors shared no part of his donations. In this state of apathy he vegetated seventy years, of which he reigned forty-seven. Although this indolent supineness is unfavourable to a monarch's glory, yet it certainly is preferable to the ostentatious successes of ambition, in general too dearly bought by the nations who covet them.

Al Dhaher,
55th caliph,
1225.

The old caliph, extremely jealous of his authority, after having divided it with his son Al Dhaher, began to think him too daring, and judging also that he might be enterprizing, threw him into prison. There he remained till his father's death. When, at the age of fifty, in exchange for the chains which till then had loaded his hands, the sceptre was put into them, he exclaimed: "Alas!

“ it is too late ‘ to open shop towards night ! ’ ”
His generosity, his justice, and the beneficence of his whole conduct, caused his subjects a sincere regret that it was not opened earlier, especially when a sudden death closed it for ever, in about nine months.

Al Mostanser, the son of Al Dhaher, very unlike his grand-father Naser, demonstrated the greatest esteem and consideration for the professors of learning. He founded a college, superior to any building of the kind throughout the mussulman empire, both for the beauty and extent of the edifice, and its revenues. He instituted four professorships, one for each orthodox sect of mahometans. Three hundred pupils were regularly taught, fed, and clothed ; and there were likewise a physician and apothecary at a fixed salary. By means of a gallery communicating with his palace, Mostanser frequently attended the lectures, and heard from behind his blinds the lessons of the doctors.

Al Mostanser, 56th caliph, 1226.

If it be true that indiscriminate liberality is in general, both blameable and ill bestowed, his singular generosity to some persons of Bagdad must deserve censure. Observing from the top of his palace some apparel hanging to dry, which had been washed ready for a feast he intended to give, he appeared offended that the owners had not bought new. On being informed that their circumstances were contracted, the emperor ordered some gold to be made into balls, distri-

buted them among his courtiers, and from the balcony of the palace shot them over on the terrace where the dresses were exposed. On visiting his treasury one day he found a cistern full of gold and silver: "God grant," exclaimed he, "that I may live long enough to expend all this:" to which a courtier who accompanied him, replied: "I heard your grand-father, the caliph Nafer, speaking of this same cistern when it wanted twelve feet of being full, say: 'God grant that I may live long enough to fill it.'" Whether his intention in accumulating was to answer any laudable object is unknown; but though Monstafer lavished, it was always in a princely manner;—in distributing immense sums to the poor, and in repairing the public schools, mosques, roads, and hospitals, during a reign of nearly seventeen years.

Mostafem,
57th caliph,
1242.

Revolutions seldom happen unless preceded by some inactive reigns. We have remarked, that the later caliphs thought only of securing their ease and pleasure. They delegated the fatigues and cares of government to their viziers and generals, who, rarely accountable for their conduct, frequently in a short time became the masters. In lazy state, from the inmost recesses of their palaces, these degenerate emperors heard the distant roaring of their enemies' thunder launched against their frontiers; still flattering themselves that it would never reach them. Mostanser, however, the father of Mostafem his suecessor, employed some

precautions against the hordes which threatened him. He fortified the walls of Bagdad with engines of defence, and shewed an inclination to repel the foe; but Mostafem, when his friends proposed his putting himself at the head of his armies, and marching into Khorasan to meet the Tartars, answered: " Bagdad is sufficient for me, " The Tartars will not envy me this city, and its " dependent territory. I will abandon the other " provinces to them, and they will never attack " me here, but will respect the place of my residence." An enemy is not always satisfied with the portion allotted him.

Bagdad was at that period the richest city in the universe. Hulaku, general of a Tartar army, having marched his troops through every part of Persia and Babylon which promised any plunder, hovered round that devoted city, like a hunter round his prey. It appears that he had intelligence from within. Mostafem was betrayed by his own vizier, in whom he placed an unbounded confidence; but this perfidious minister had sworn he would effect his master's ruin, because the prince was averse from the sect professed by the vizier, The caliph was covetous and vain; and the vizier, knowing his foible, advised him to disband his armies, under the pretence of their being useless at a time when he was revered and beloved by all kings and princes attached to the mahometan faith, These fallacious hopes, which Mostafem suffered to

blind his judgment, did not stop the progress of Hulaku. The chief nobles went in a body to the caliph, and strongly urged him to quit his wives, his eunuchs, and birds, of which he was passionately fond, and in fine his beloved indolence, and seriously consider the state of affairs. As soon as (in consequence of those representations) he gave the vizier to understand his intention of assembling his army, the traitor prevailed on him to abandon the project. "Suppose even," said he, "that the Tartars and Moguls should enter the city, the women and children only would be able to dash out their brains with stones, from the terraces of their houses." At length necessity compelled him to attempt a regular defence. The emperor raised troops, and entrusted them to the command of the same traitorous vizier. The greater part of them were drowned in the waters of the Euphrates, which Hulaku caused to overflow their camp, and the general escaped almost alone. These tidings being carried to the caliph, he exclaimed, "God be praised, the vizier is safe!" This unhappy prince clung to these delusive hopes, till the Tartars, after several assaults, made themselves masters of the city. On their entering, the caliph presented himself with the vases containing diamonds and jewellery of inestimable value, amassed by his ancestors for a long period of years. Hulaku immediately distributed them among the principal officers of his army.

There never had been a caliph so ostentatious as Mostafem: his pride was excessive. Scarcely could the chiefs of the mussulman princes ever gain access to him; and when at length they were admitted, he affected a luxury and magnificence unequalled by any of his predecessors. When he appeared in public he usually wore a veil, the more effectually to attract the respect of the people, whom he considered as unworthy to look at him. On those occasions the multitude was so great, that the squares and streets were too narrow to contain them, and the windows and balconies were hired at an exorbitant price to see him pass. —Through those same streets, exposed to the view of that same populace, who no doubt hastened to behold this dreadful spectacle, did the cruel Tartar drag the wretched caliph, confined in a leather sack, in which state he expired. He is said to have inflicted on him this humiliating and barbarous tyranny as a punishment for his pride. Several of his sons were slain in the assault, in which he had never once shewn himself; the rest were presented to the conqueror, together with his wives to the number of seven hundred, and three hundred eunuchs employed in their service: their destiny is unknown. Bagdad was given up to be pillaged during seven days, and in it the troops found immense treasures. Thus fell the last of the caliphs, at the age of forty-six, after a reign of sixteen years. He was acknowledged as

sole and legitimate caliph, and sovereign pontiff of the mussulmen. Although in Egypt and Spain there were princes who assumed the title of caliph, it was only with respect to their own immediate subjects, and not the mussulmen in general, who acknowledged allegiance to the caliph of Bagdad only, as the lawful successor of Mahomet. This dignity was possessed by the house of the Abassides about five hundred and twenty-three years.

TURKS.

Turks, between the Kalmucks, Great Bukharia, and the Caspian sea.

The Arabs by their military and religious conquests extended their dominion into the three parts of the known world; and in like manner the Turks, not less active, and almost as enthusiastic, founded an empire nearly as vast, and sometimes even usurped the place of the Arabs themselves. We have already noticed their origin according to the Persian authors, who fix their territory on the borders of the Caspian sea. The Chinese, on the other hand, suppose them to have been aborigines of a great desert near Korea, which is placing their primitive abode at a considerable distance from the former.

Some accounts make them of Scythian descent; others, Huns and Tartars; but, in fact, they were little known before they inhabited Turkestan, an extensive region of Tartary, whose limits are extremely uncertain; but which, when the Turks began their incursions, was comprized between the Kalmucks, Great Bukharia, and the Caspian sea.

It is a flat country, fertile and well watered, once covered with beautiful towns, some of which even in a state of decay bear evidence of their former grandeur.

Historians divide the ancient Turks into two classes, from their mode of living. Some of their tribes inhabited cities, and consequently had permanent dwellings: the rest lived in tents, after the custom of the Arabs. From the latter are descended the Turcomans, the ancestors of the present Ottomans. They believed in one only God, creator of the heavens and the earth, to whom they sacrificed horses, oxen, and sheep. They held the water, air, and fire, in high respect; and chaunted hymns in honour of the earth. Their priests pretended to the knowledge of future events. The Arabian and Persian authors give but an unfavourable representation of the natural disposition of the Turks, which they describe as gross and brutal; and cite, in support of their assertions, some proverbs little to their praise. In one of their old volumes is a distich to the following purport: "Although a Turk or a Tartar should excel in every branch of the sciences, still will barbarism always remain the groundwork of his character." They have another proverb in frequent use, viz. "Though a Turk should be a doctor of the mussulman law, yet one might kill him without scruple." This vindictive aversion was, no doubt, the consequence of the

cruel treatment the Persians have so often experienced from that nation during their bloody wars. Nor were the Arabs less oppressed: and we may assert that the same sentiments prevail among the populace of the present day, who still continue seditious and insolent. These people were always eminent for personal courage; and, in general, those Turks who have preserved their original character have a haughty air, and appear formed for martial deeds.

Seljukian
Turks.

Besides the empires founded by the Turks in Tartary, they established four great monarchies in the south of Asia: the three first governed by sovereigns of the same family, named Seljukians; and the fourth subject to the princes of the house of Othoman, or Osman, and their successors. The Seljukians derive their origin from Seljuk, the father of Dekak, chief officer of a prince of a Turkish tribe who dwelt on the coasts of the Caspian sea. Seljuk had several children who became powerful in adherents, and very rich in flocks and lands. He had embraced the mahometan faith, and his descendants followed his example. This religion rendered them objects of suspicion to their countrymen of Turkestan; but, on the other hand, it gained them the friendship of the caliphs of Bagdad, who employed them as their guard, and incorporated numerous bodies of them with their armies.

Togrol-
Bek, 1st
sultan,
1037.

We have already mentioned that they were sent by the caliph Kayem to oppose sultan Masud, who

invaded his territories, and to defend the mussulman states. It was on this occasion that the Turks entered Khorasan, conquered it, and established themselves there, under the command of Togrol-Bek, who was the first Seljukian sultan of Iran or Persia. Prosperity and success attended him during a reign of twenty-six years. His arms were victorious over his foreign foes, and he also enjoyed interior peace, domestic union, and respect and esteem from his neighbours. He was amiable, wise, prudent, a great politician; and notwithstanding his civil and military occupations, which were entirely directed by him, he found time to fulfil all the duties enjoined by religion. He died at the age of seventy.

Alp-Arslan his nephew, as he left no children, succeeded him, and also inherited not only all his virtues, but his good fortune even in a superior degree; for, besides various conquests, he took Romanus, the emperor of Constantinople, prisoner, and set him free. When his captive was brought into his presence, he thus addressed him: "What would have been my fate had I fallen into your power?" Romanus answered bluntly, rather with rancour than greatness of soul: "I would have condemned you to some ignominious punishment." "And I," said the Turk, "give you liberty." This generosity was enhanced by the obliging and attentive conduct he adopted towards him. He even suffered him to depart without

Alp-Arslan,
2d sultan,
1063.

detaining any hostages for his ransom. Previous to the battle, Alp-Arslan had offered him peace on reasonable conditions, which being rejected, in the presence of his army he put up a fervent prayer to the Almighty, perfumed and clothed himself in white; saying: "If I am slain, this dress will serve as my pall." He then cast away his bow and arrows, took his sabre and an iron sceptre in one hand, and grasping his horse's tail with the other, vaulted on his back, the whole army following his example. We remark this action, as from it probably originated the mussulman custom of bearing a horse's tail among their warlike ensigns. The death of this virtuous prince was caused by his own imprudence, and he was sensible of it. Enraged at the resistance of a brave man, named Kothual, who had valiantly defended for several days a fortress which Alp-Arslan expected to have taken on the first outset, on its surrendering he reproached him in the most opprobrious language for his temerity in having dared to oppose such forces as his. The prisoner, who instead of insult expected praise, answered him haughtily. The sultan sentenced him to be fastened to four stakes, and there left to expire in torture. Kothual instantly drawing a long knife from his boot, exclaimed: "Infamous man! is this the treatment which my conduct merits?" and attempted to rush towards the prince. Alp-Arslan, who was a very expert archer, ordered his

guards to let him advance, at the same time aimed an arrow at him, and missed him. Kothual sprung on him, gave him a mortal wound, and was himself immediately massacred.

Finding his dissolution near, he thus addressed his surrounding friends: "This day brings to my remembrance two excellent admonitions I formerly received from a wise old man who was my preceptor: the first was, never to despise any one; the second, never to have too good an opinion of oneself. In the two last days of my life I have transgressed against these two excellent precepts, and am justly punished in consequence. Yesterday, while reviewing my troops, I thought no human force capable of opposing, nor any mortal daring enough to attack me. To-day, while commanding my guards not to stop a man approaching me with a naked weapon, I imagined I had strength and address enough to defend myself alone; but I now perceive that neither strength nor skill can overcome destiny." His body was interred in a town called Maru, and the following simple epitaph inscribed on his tomb: "All you who have seen the grandeur of Alp-Arslan ascending to the clouds, visit Maru and you will behold it buried in the dust." He lived forty-four years, of which he reigned nine.

Malek Shah,
3^d Sultan,
1072.

Malek Shah, on ascending his father's throne, had to appease the revolts excited by his uncles, but this did not prevent him from extending his dominions. He returned into Turkestan, the original abode of his ancestors, and annexed it to the empire as an inheritance which ought never to have been separated from it. But a small territory confined to a corner of Persian Irak eluded all his attempts to subjugate it. The principle of fanaticism which actuated the Bathanians, a people better known under the name of Assassins, is uncertain; but life was of no value in their esteem, and they exposed themselves to death, not only in executing the orders of their chief, but for any indifferent person who wished to be rid of an enemy. In fact, they were ready and determined assassins, and Malek Shah, finding their power daily increase, sent them a very threatening message. Their chief commanded some of his people to attend, and in presence of the ambassador ordered a young man among them to stab himself, who, without hesitation, plunged a dagger in his breast; and another to precipitate himself from the top of the castle, which he instantly did. "Return," said he to the messenger, "and acquaint your master, that I have seventy thousand men all as ready to obey me as those you have just seen." This informa-

tion satisfied the sultan, who from that time suffered them to remain unmolested.

This prince was handsome in his person, uncorrupt in his morals, prudent, liberal, valiant; and eminent for his mental acquirements, his justice, and piety. He diminished the taxes, redressed various grievances, repaired the bridges, public roads, and canals, and built a superb mosque at Bagdad, because it was the residence of the caliph, whose lieutenants the Seljukians called themselves, though in reality their power was superior to his. The sultan's capital was Isfahan, where he died at the age of thirty-seven, after a reign of twenty years, leaving the reputation of a generous and munificent prince, the terror of the vicious, and the protector of the good. He loved the sciences, reformed the calendar, and invented the intercalation of the bissextile year.

Malek Shah had four sons; and appointed Mahommed the youngest, who was not quite twenty-two, as his successor, to the exclusion of Barkiarok the oldest. This preference was, no doubt, effected by the entreaties of Mahommed's mother, and by the advice of the vizier, who had an interest in seeing a young man on the throne. It is not surprizing that a civil war between the brothers ensued. Their uncles also, the brothers of the deceased, asserted their pretensions in arms; but the claims of Barkiarok

Barkiarok,
4th Sultan,
1092.

at length prevailed, they being ratified by the caliph of Bagdad, whose suffrage stamped the fate of rival princes.

Though the right of decision was in his power, peace was not; and Barkiarok was even obliged to share the throne with his brother Mohammed. He died at the age of thirty-five, after a very turbulent reign of thirteen years.

Mohammed
and Sanjar,
5th and 6th
sultans, 1104.

In presence of the body of nobility, whom he caused to be convoked on the occasion, he declared his son Mahmud, then only four years old, his successor; but Mohammed, who was already in possession of one half the kingdom, made preparations to invade the other. There were numberless uncles and cousins who also aspired to the dignity, and who were alternately victorious and defeated; consequently, there being no permanent ruler, the prayers in the mosque were offered every succeeding day for a different pretender. Mohammed, however, enjoyed the most considerable portion; but death terminated his career at the age of thirty-six, after a reign of twelve years. This prince was eminent for gravity, justice, clemency, and eloquence. He left his kingdom, together with immense treasures, to Mahmud. These were wrested from the youthful monarch by his uncle Sanjar, who, however, put him in possession of Persian and Arabian Irak, but whether as an inheritance or a government is unknown.

After the decease of Sanjar, Mahmud took possession of all his dominions. Maffud, one of his brothers, disputed his title sword in hand; but he had another brother, named Togrol, who always continued his faithful adherent, to whom, in recompense of his attachment, Mahmud, who died young, left his throne. Maffud again set up as competitor, and had the good fortune, by Togrol's death, to remain undisputed master of the whole kingdom, which he governed nineteen years, and died at the age of forty-five.

Mahmud
7th, 1117.
Togrol 8th,
1130.
Maffud 9th,
1134. Sul-
tans of Irak
or Persia.

Maffud, who enjoyed an uninterrupted course of victory, treated the caliphs with very little respect, though he is said to have been a pious prince. He was just and generous, and despised riches, which he distributed with a liberal hand. His attack in battle was terrible. He would wait the approach of a lion, and kill him with a single blow.

During a series of fifty-five years which elapsed from Maffud the ninth sultan, until Togrol II. the fourteenth sultan of Persian Irak, and the last of the Seljukians, this kingdom experienced continual shocks, which seemed to announce its approaching dissolution. Not only all the relatives of these princes—uncles, brothers, and cousins—contended for the crown, but the confusion was augmented by the caliphs of Bagdad, who having again assumed the authority, either bestow-

ed the sceptre or resumed it, as their inclination led them. The nobles did not forget their pretensions in this state of anarchy. They sometimes attached themselves to one prince, sometimes to another, as they were influenced by their interest; and deposed or reinstated them as they thought proper, though frequently becoming themselves victims of the cabals formed against their sovereigns. These for the greater part died a violent death. Togrol was assassinated by a man on whom he had conferred various obligations; and with him ended, in 1193, the reign of the Seljukians in Irak or Persia. These princes were almost all of an amiable disposition, liberal, and just. Their ruin may be attributed to their too great indulgence to favourites, and the unlimited authority enjoyed by the generals, viziers, and high nobility of the court. Chance alone never occasioned the fall of empires.

Seljukians
of Kerman.

The second branch or dynasty of the Seljukians, denominated of Kerman, began towards 1063, and ended in 1187, a space of about one hundred and twenty years, and produced eleven sultans, whose names have not been preserved. Their authority was circumscribed to a small territory lying between Persia, Segestan, Mekran, and Ormus; and they possessed some islands and harbours in the Persian Gulph. The succession was in general hereditary, from father to son, but in default of

the latter it descended to the brothers and nephews; whence we may infer that this little state enjoyed the blessings of tranquillity.

Asia Minor, comprehending the kingdoms of Pontus, Bythinia, Media, Phrygia, Galatia, Armenia Minor, Cappadocia, and other states, forming a vast peninsula between the Euxine sea and the Propontis, the Archipelago, the Mediterranean sea, and Syria, as far as the Euphrates, composed a part of the Greek empire, which the Asiatics knew only under the name of the Roman empire, and they called those countries the territories of Roum. The Arabs had penetrated into them through Syria, and the Turks, in pursuit of them, during their wars, entered also, advanced into the interior of the country, drove out the Greeks, and took possession of the territory of Roum, which they afterwards named Anatolia. This conquest was begun under Malek Shah, a Seljukian sultan of Persia. He made over the cities he had captured, with a sufficient number of troops to enable him to pursue his success, to one of his cousins, named Solyman, who was the founder of the dynasty of the Seljukian Roum Turks.

The dissensions which agitated Constantinople were very favourable to the enterprizes of Solyman, whose alliance was courted by all the competitors by turns. Into whatever treaties the contending parties entered, he was considered

Seljukians of
Roum,
1072.

Solyman 1st
sultan,
1074.

as an auxiliary, and in consequence constantly acquired some small portion from the wreck, which served to extend his domains. This sultan fortified himself in several provinces, where he took possession of some very advantageous posts. In this manner he became master of Antioch, and made Nice in Bithynia the royal residence. Solyman either fell in battle, or flew himself after a defeat. He governed all the country lying between the *Ægean*, the Syrian, and the Euxine seas, the Archipelago, and the coasts of Pamphilia and Cilicia. After his death they were claimed by the governors of Asia Minor. The emperor of Constantinople also regained some places by stratagems; but though Nice, the capital, was vigorously attacked, the Greeks could not wrest it from the hands of Pucasa the governor, who restored it to Kilij-Arslan, the eldest son of Solyman.

Sultans of
Iconium.
Kilij-Arslan,
2d sultan,
1093.

The young prince, it seems, with his two brothers, after their father's death, fled into Persia, and were detained prisoners by the reigning sultan, which occasioned an interregnum of eight years in the dominions of Solyman. At length the princes effected their escape, and the eldest assumed the royalty as his birthright. His chief expeditions were against the Greeks: he likewise was successful against those of his own nation who had usurped his cities, and gained some important advantages over the

crusaders, whom he dispossessed of Nice, which they had taken. He established another capital at Iconium, whence his successors derive their title of sultans of Iconium. Kilij Arslan, having lost a battle, was drowned in attempting to escape across a river which his horse was unable to ford. He had held the reins of power fourteen years.

The history of the sultans of Iconium is principally drawn from the Greek authors, who having no personal knowledge of them, have scarcely preserved any traits deserving notice of these princes, either of their customs, characters, or the intrigues of their court; in fact nothing which will serve to interrupt the dull monotony of feats of arms, which are at all times alike—devastations, massacres, and conflagrations. We are therefore necessitated to collect from these wearisome narratives a few events more or less interesting, under the names and dates of these princes.

Kilij Arslan the First was succeeded by Sayfan his brother, who was dethroned by his brother Massud, and deprived of sight by means of a red-hot iron being passed across his eyes. He was so incautious as to tell his nurse's husband that he still had a glimmering of light; he mentioned it to his wife in confidence; and she kept the secret so religiously that in a very short time it was known to every body. It soon reached the ears

Sayfan, 3d
sultan, 1106.
Massud, 4th,
1116.
Kilij Arslan
II. 5th sul-
tan, 1152.

of Massud, who then caused his wretched brother to be strangled. This prince enjoyed the reward of his crimes only ten years, and his son Kilij Arslan II. ascended his throne. He imprudently divided his dominions between his five sons, who not only engaged in wars against each other, but drove their father from the capital. Khofru alone remained faithful to him, re-instated him in his possessions, and after his decease succeeded to the principal share of the authority. The four others retained those parts which had been ceded to them by their father.

Khofru, 6th Sultan,
1192.
Soliman II.
7th sultan,
1198. Kilij
Arslan III.
8th sultan,
1204.
Kaykaws,
9th sultan,
1211.
Kaikobad,
10th sultan,
1219.

One of them, named Rocno-ddin Solyman, harassed his brother Khofraw in his capital, and at length expelled him from it. The dethroned prince applied for protection to the Greek emperor, who re-established him in his dignity. The other two brothers reigned peaceably in their domains. Khofraw, after the death of Solyman, united under his authority the whole country of Iconium. Having become a powerful monarch, he took up arms against the Greek emperor, Lascaris; not the same who had replaced the diadem on his head. The two princes met in battle, and Khofraw, whose strength was extraordinary, rushed towards Lascaris, stunned him with a blow of his mace, and dashed him to the ground. The Greek, in falling, drew his sword: the Turk, darting on him a contemptuous look, ordered his people to carry him off

the field; but as he turned his back, Lascaris, who had recovered from the shock, hamstrung Kosraw's horse. The animal reared and fell. In that instant Lascaris thrust his sword into the sultan's body, cut off his head, and fixed it on the point of a lance. The Turks, terrified at this spectacle, fled and abandoned the victory to the enemy. His sons, Kaykaws and Kaikobad, successively filled the throne. The latter has left the character of a prudent sagacious prince, who enforced from his nobles and vassals that respect which was his due. He was serious in his exterior, and possessed great firmness of mind. During his reign, Ortogrol, or Othman, his son, founders of the family of the empire of the present Ottoman emperors, first began the career of their glory.

As the sultanhip of Iconium was formed from the wreck of the Constantinopolitan empire, and the impotence of the Greek princes, agitated as they were by interior revolts, to afford succour to their subjects of Asia Minor; so likewise the ruin of this latter kingdom was effected by the incessant contests between relatives—fathers, children, uncles, cousins, each aspiring to the sovereignty: hence it became an easy prey to a foreign enemy. We have just observed, that the Turkish dynasty of Ottomans began under Kaikobad. During the reign of his son Khosraw II. appeared the Mogul Tartars, who shortly after acquired sufficient authority to sum-

mon the Iconium sultans to their court, and impose commands on them which they durst not disobey. These unhappy princes engaged the Greek emperors to espouse their cause; but their assistance was interested, and served rather to weaken than support their measures. This wretched country was alternately torn to pieces by Greeks, Turks, adventurers of every nation, and the princes of the Seljukian dynasty, who continued to give the title to the kingdom, but who enjoyed so little real power, that interregnums were frequent, one of which lasted for nineteen years. In process of time, the affairs of the Seljukian princes became so desperate, that they only held their territory as tributaries to the Mogul khans. The last sultan, Kaikobad, they invested with the authority of his ancestors; but at length the Moguls, weary of being only protectors, invaded his dominions, and put him to death. With Kaikobad ended the dynasty of the Seljukians, but not of the Turks, which existed in that of the Othmans.

THE TARTARS.

Tartary, between India, the Caspian and Japanese Seas, and China.

Tartary is divided into two parts, the eastern and western; the first inhabited by the Manchews, and the second by the Moguls. This extensive country is separated by mountains abounding with game, and ferocious animals, such as lions, tigers, and others peculiar to that

climate, vast and fertile plains, and both large and small rivers well stocked with fish. Here also are found immense tracts of pasturage. Even the deserts have only obtained the name because they are not inhabited by man ; for, excepting some spots here and there, they are covered with tall and bushy herbage, though wood is not in plenty. Some of the Tartar tribes are stationary, others wandering. The camp of the latter, intersected like the different quarters of a town, and formed of tents overspread with a strong close kind of cloth, variegated with the most lively tints, presents a very agreeable spectacle. In winter the tents are covered with felt, which renders them impenetrable to the rigor of the season. The women are lodged in small wooden houses, which in a few minutes may be taken to pieces, and packed in a cart, whenever they wish to decamp.

Tartary is the highest land in the world. In some parts which they visited the jesuit mathematicians found it six miles above the bed of the ocean. This great elevation renders Tartary intensely cold in comparison of other places under the same latitude. Even in summer it freezes so hard as to produce ice of the thickness of a crown-piece, which is caused as much by the north-east wind blowing almost constantly over this vast plain, but little sheltered with trees, as by the prodigious quantities of saltpetre which impregnate

the earth at the depth of four or five feet ; and it is not uncommon to dig up clods of frozen turf, and heaps of icicles. The trees are neither numerous nor well grown, but there are some forests.

This is the country in which mighty empires have arisen. From this territory issued forth the conquerors of India, and the present possessors of China. There, during many revolving centuries, bloody wars were waged, and battles fought, which decided the fate of empires. There the treasures of southern Asia have often been both collected and dissipated. In fine, in these, now almost desert tracts, for a long period, the arts and sciences were successfully cultivated and protected ; and there flourished proud and powerful cities, now buried beneath their ruins ! The Tartars are divided into three branches ; Moguls, Kalkas, and Eluths ; the latter of whom are better known under the name of Kalmuks. The origin of these appellations is uncertain.

The Tartar countenance has a national character, distinguishing it from every other. A middle stature, but very stout and robust ; a long head ; flat visage ; an olive, or copper-coloured complexion ; animated black eyes, extremely sunk, and by much too far asunder ; a well-formed mouth ; small teeth of an ivory whiteness ; a crushed nose, almost on a level with the rest of the face, shewing only two immensely

wide nostrils; large flat ears; black hair, as coarse as a horse's mane, which is kept close shaved, except one lock on the top of the head that is suffered to grow;—these features, softened in the female, constitute what is considered a handsome Tartar couple.

Some of the Tartars are obliging and polite, others brutal and rude, according to their different mode of life. In general, they are endowed with an excellent disposition, being inclined to cheerfulness, and neither addicted to caprice nor melancholy. They always appear content; and value an object not according to its beauty or novelty, but its utility. They preserve their genealogy with the greatest care, and have a high respect for that science; not that they are incapable of attaining any others, but because they are indifferent to them, and inimical to all restraint and ceremonies. They excel in horsemanship, are dextrous hunters, and skilful archers, whether riding or on foot. Such is their primitive character. This, however, is rapidly changed when they mix in society, which also produces an alteration in their mode of dress, originally of skins. They notwithstanding still retain the form, wearing drawers, wide shirts, and over them a long robe, closed to the waist with a broad girdle, half-boots, and small round caps. The difference of attire between the sexes is very inconsider-

able, both of whom admire red in preference to every other colour.

Their arms consist of the bow and arrow, lance, and sabre. They always fight on horse-back: their horses are stout and vigorous, qualities more estimable in their opinion than beauty. They are possessed of camels, broad-tailed sheep, and the largest oxen in the world. Mutton and horse-flesh is their only animal food; the latter of which they prefer to beef; as they do also the milk of mares to that of cows. By mixing together the milk of cows, mares, sheep, goats, and camels, they have the art of making fermented liquors, with which at festivals they regale themselves even to intoxication. They are likewise very fond of smoking, and use tobacco for no other purpose.

Commerce is carried on only between neighbouring tribes, and chiefly by barter; for it would be difficult to render it extensive in those unmeasured regions, subjected to the government of an infinity of petty princes, all anxious to counteract the designs of each other. Several of them, if the expression may be allowed, hunt down their fellow men, whom they sell into slavery to the Turks and Persians. From this iniquitous trade flows their principal wealth; and when strangers are not easy to entrap, they steal, and condemn to bondage, the offspring of their subjects. Others of these chiefs, more compas-

sionate, incorporate the captives taken in war with their own people, thereby increasing their number. The Nomadic Tartars are mostly those who pursue this humane conduct. Polygamy is general among the tribes, and even some respect only their mothers. A woman of forty is no longer noticed by them, but considered as of no farther utility than to superintend the young girls, and toil in the laborious drudgery of the household. Children are educated in their father's profession; and with such a reverential awe of him, that it even continues after life. They afford him the most pompous funeral their circumstances will permit, and pay an annual visit to his tomb, which they heap with offerings: but the poor mother is forgotten, no honourable remembrance is bestowed on her. Some tribes bury, others burn their dead. Even in the deserts there have been funeral monuments discovered, that prove that with the deceased they likewise interred horses, arms, jewels, and most probably slaves, whose skeletons are ranged near the distinguished corse. There also have been seen undamaged houses, for the most part furnished, and manuscripts in the writing and language of Thibet, which is the writing and language of the learned. The vulgar tongue is of great antiquity, and divided into various dialects, commonly understood by all.

It should seem that the primitive religion of

the Tartars was pure deism. They are now separated into two sects, viz. mahometans, and worshippers of the lamas, who derive their origin from Fohi. The residence of the grand-lama is at Thibet. Except the doctrine of the metempsychosis, taught by his sectaries, we might believe it to have been founded on christianity, particularly on the Roman catholic creed. It teaches a life to come, purgatory, invoking of saints, the worship of images, confession, absolution, the use of the rosary, aspersions with water; in fact, nearly all the exterior ceremonies of the catholic religion. The possessions of lamas or priests consist of flocks and land, which they have the right of transmitting to each other. The people believe that Fohi, to whom they give the appellation of God in the pulpit, assumes a human form, and resides at Thibet, where they offer him their adorations under the title of Grand-Lama. His representatives, scattered through various parts of Tartary, are called khutuktu, live in the utmost splendor, and receive the worship of the Tartars; they being also surrounded by their lamas or priests, who enjoy under them different degrees of dignity; the whole forming an hierarchy. They pretend that the grand-lama is immortal, though he sometimes disappears for a time. In the temple of the reigning idol a child is educated, and accustomed from his earliest infancy to divine honours. The la-

ma's science is confined to his reading the sacred volumes in the Thibet tongue. The recitation of their liturgy is solemn and melodious; and that is almost the whole of their religious rites, into which there neither enter victims nor sacrifice. They possess some knowledge of medicine, and pretend to prescience.

The government of the Tartars may be termed patriarchal, each father being absolute master in his own family. Several families united, form a horde or tribe, and several tribes a nation, whose chief, denominated khan, or kan, is elected by other chiefs, usually from the tribe of him he succeeds. The choice falls in general on the most ancient of the princes of the blood, named Tayki, unless some natural impediment prevents it. They sometimes also depose those princes who have governed badly, or been guilty of great crimes. Their court and army are composed of different gradations of dignities and stations, answering to our princes, dukes, earls, &c. These dignitaries are liable to be degraded from their rank by the khan whose vassals they are. Each tribe marches to battle under a standard bearing its name, surmounted with the figure of some favourite animal, as a horse, camel, &c. Many of them at present use arquebuses with bayonets, which carry fire at the distance of six hundred paces with astonishing precision. In battle they wear a coat of mail

and iron casque : they are unacquainted with the method of rank and file, but ride to the attack in troops, the commander at their head ; and when thought to be routed and flying, return to the charge with redoubled ardour. Woe would attend the enemy who had broken their ranks in the pursuit, for then their defeat would be almost inevitable. The Tartars give annually two tenths of their harvests, flocks, or whatever their revenue consists in ; one tenth to the khan, and the other to their tribe. When summoned, they all are obliged to take up arms, and plunder is their only pay.

MOGULS.

Moguls.
Jenghis
Khan, 1165.

The Moguls, a tribe of Tartars, lived about the middle of Tartary, confounded with the rest, till Jenghis Khan by his conquests immortalized their name. He extended his dominion over a space of more than eight hundred leagues on one side, and a thousand on the other (further than the Arabs), with a rapidity unequalled by any other conqueror, and such brilliant success as obtained him the title of king of kings, disposer of thrones and of diadems.

The names of seven of his ancestors have been preserved. They were renowned for their valour, and are known to have gradually augmented the narrow circle of their district. Pisouka, his father, having subdued and slain the chief of

several hordes, in remembrance of his victory named his new-born son Temujin after the vanquished prince. Temujin was educated with the greatest attention, and the care of his childhood confided to a very able minister. Tartary was at that time separated into numerous tribes, the most powerful of which was that of the Karaits, situate between mount Altay and eastern Tartary, whose chieftain bore the title of great khan. China, called also Kitay or Katay, was divided into two parts: the northern was subject to the Kins eastern Tartars, from whom are descended the Mauchews, the actual possessors of China, and was called Karakitay. Several small sovereignties existed in its vicinity. On the western side of mount Altay, as far as the Caspian sea, reigned also many petty princes; some of whom were independent, others tributaries to the Persians and Russians. At Pisouka's death, the greater number of the hordes whom he had subdued, seeing only a child of thirteen years of age as their ruler, endeavoured to shake off the yoke. Either directed or seconded by Ulun his mother, a woman of extraordinary courage, Temujin put himself at the head of his troops, engaged the rebels, and forced them to return to their allegiance. This battle spread his fame throughout all Tartary; notwithstanding which he experienced some checks, so considerable as to oblige him to seek refuge at

the court of the great khan, who had been under some obligations to Pisouka; and he, as well to acquit himself towards the father, as from a sentiment of esteem for the youthful Temujin, re-instated him in his domains, and gave him his daughter in marriage.

The favour he enjoyed at his father-in-law's court, a well-earned favour, to which his military exploits for the great khan's advantage well entitled him, excited a general jealousy against him, both at court, even in the bosom of his brothers, and in the provinces, where the vassals could not endure the absolute authority which he induced his father-in-law to assume.

These subjected princes, among whom were some kings, took up arms. The great khan gave them battle, and was defeated, while Temujin was occupied at a distance. The son-in-law received his father, who had been compelled to abdicate the sovereignty, in his camp, and replaced him on his throne, by gaining a brilliant victory, which was tarnished by the horrible punishment that succeeded it. He ordered seventy large cauldrons, filled with water, to be placed on the fire, and while boiling, the chief rebels to be thrown in head foremost. After these successes, the merit of which was entirely imputed to Temujin, envy became more inveterate at the great khan's court than before. Even his father-in-law began to harbour suspi-

cions to his prejudice. The vassals, subjected again to the same yoke, formed a league to free themselves from it, and had sufficient address to persuade the great khan that the confederacy they had entered into was to enable them to withstand the ambitious designs of his son-in-law. Temujin, having been informed of these secret cabals, employed every pacificatory means that prudence suggested to undeceive his father. Finding his attempts of no avail, he, on his side, formed a league with several princes, admirers of his warlike talents, and attracted by his affable manners and the valuable presents he lavished on his friends. Both parties had recourse to arms, a decisive battle was fought, the khan was slain, and Temujin took possession of his kingdom; but not without experiencing much resistance from his former detractors, whom he was obliged separately to reduce to submission.

Temujin at that time was forty years of age, when seeing himself the master of very extensive dominions, he adopted the resolution to render his power in some degree lawful, by the public homage of all the princes within the precincts of his empire. He convoked them at Karkorum his capital, where they all met on the appointed day clothed in white, among whom were the princes of the blood, attired like the rest. The emperor, with the diadem encircling his brow, advanced into the midst of this august

assembly, seated himself on his throne, and received the compliments of the khans and other nobility, who offered up prayers for his health and prosperity. They then proceeded to confirm to him and his successors the sovereignty of the Mogul empire and all the nations subject to it; and declared the descendents of their princes divested of all their rights. After some subsequent victories, he renewed a similar inauguration at the head of his army, with less pompous ceremonial, but much more affecting simplicity. He took his place on an unornamented seat on an eminence of turf, whence he harangued the assembly with an eloquence that was natural to him. His discourse ended, he sat down on a black felt which had been spread on the earth; and the orator appointed for the occasion addressed him in the following terms: "However great the power you possess, O prince from heaven you hold it: God will prosper your undertakings if you govern your subjects with justice. If, on the contrary, you abuse the authority lodged in your hands, you will become black as this felt; that is to say, wretched and an outcast." Seven khans then respectfully assisted him to rise, conducted him to the throne, and proclaimed him chief of all the Mogul empire. Fortunately for his cause, Kokja, one of his relatives, was present; a man who, by strictly practising the rigid duties of religion, had gained

the reputation of being inspired. He approached the prince, and said: "I am come by the order of God to inform you, that it is his pleasure you should henceforward take the name of Jenghis Khan: and you must publish it to your subjects, that in future they may give you that appellation." This title signifies the *greatest khan of khans*. The denomination was ratified by the most extravagant demonstrations of joy. The Moguls, persuaded of the truth of the revelation, considered the rest of the world in no other light than as a conquest, which belonged, by divine right, to their great khan.

Thenceforth they breathed only war; and the resistance of those princes who attempted to defend their domains, appeared to them a crime committed against the sovereignty of Heaven. Commander of a very numerous and well-disciplined army, animated with religious enthusiasm, there was no enterprize, however hazardous, which Jenghis Khan did not think himself equal to accomplishing. His ambition, however, might perhaps have been satisfied with Tartary, a flat country, without either walls or fortresses, which he had almost entirely subdued, if the sovereign of the Kin, or the northern part of China, had not imprudently demanded of him the same tribute as was paid him by princes whom he had dethroned, and whose authority he had usurped. This claim irritated the haughty

conqueror. Neither the great wall built for the defense of China against the invasions of the Tartars, nor any other fortifications, deterred him, although he was ignorant of the art of carrying on a siege, and the Tartars little adapted to pursue its operations. They poured like a torrent over China, routed its armies, desolated the country, and amassed immense spoils. The cities, and even the royal residence, fell into the hands of Jenghis Khan, by means of unforeseen events, which he had neither a right to expect nor hope, and which we will narrate in their appropriate place. Diffensions arose among the nobles, some of whom betrayed, and others but badly defended their emperor. He was slain. In the short space of five years the Mogul beheld himself the master of all that extensive territory. He there established Muhuli, his experienced and able captain, as governor, generalissimo of his forces, and lieutenant, with the title of king, which was to descend by hereditary right to his posterity.

1217.

As for himself, he flew to gather fresh laurels in the vicinity of Bucharía and Persia, where he subjugated the Turkish tribes. But, as at last there must be a limit to all things, he determined to make the domains of Mohammed, sultan of Karazm, his most powerful neighbour, the boundary of his empire. In conformity to this resolution, he proposed entering into a treaty with him, and sent an ambassador to inform the

sultan, that having become possessor of all the extent of territory from the farthest east, to the frontiers of his dominions, he desired, for their mutual advantage, that they should live on the terms of good intelligence. Mohammed did not return the most gracious answer to these advances, but nevertheless acquiesced to the proposal. This prince had made a very dangerous enemy in Nasser, caliph of Bagdad, to whom on various occasions he had conducted himself with haughtiness. As much from a desire of revenge, as to secure himself against the sultan's meditated designs, the caliph conceived the idea of forming an alliance with Jenghis Khan, and to engage him to turn his arms against the Karazmian. The caliph's council, in which the affair was debated, was divided on the question: the zealots argued, that it was contrary to the musulman law to introduce the enemies of God into the country of the true believers. To this objection, Nasser replied: "A mahometan tyrant is worse than an infidel. When destruction threatens, we must employ every effort to ward off the blow."

The caliph's reasoning prevailed, and an express was dispatched into Tartary. For fear of surprize, the messenger's credentials were engraved on his head by means of a needle and some colorific drugs. As soon as his hair was a little grown, he set off; and on his arrival caused

himself to be shaved, when the characters re-appeared. Jenghis-Khan approved the proposal of breaking with Mahommed, and returned for answer: " I have just concluded a treaty of
" peace with him, therefore it would not be
" consistent to declare war immediately; but I
" will not fail to do so the very first cause of
" complaint that occurs, and that cannot be far
" distant between two great empires contiguous
" to each other." The expected event soon happened. Some Tartar merchants were insulted and plundered by Mahommed's subjects, and he neglected to make the proper restitution, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Jenghis Khan. The dispute of private persons became that of sovereigns, they were both incensed, and formidable hostile preparations were begun on either side.

The great-khan issued a manifesto to all the princes, as well allies as tributaries, in which he exposed to them the motives which induced him to attack the sultan of Karazm, and invited them to join him with their troops. He thus collected an army amounting to seven hundred thousand men. Previous to his departure, he ordered recruits to be raised throughout his dominions, and sent after him: and dictated these despotic laws to his forces: " Whosoever shall fly with-
" out having fought, however great the danger
" or the resistance, shall be punished with death.

“ If out of ten combatants forming together one
“ company any shall separate themselves from
“ the rest, either by flight, or for any other rea-
“ son, they shall be put to death without mercy ;
“ if those of a company of ten shall see their
“ comrades engaged in battle, and not hasten
“ to their succour, and endeavour to rescue
“ them, they also shall suffer death.” After
these imperious regulations, he instituted others
concerning discipline, subordination, and what-
ever could tend to insure order among so prodi-
gious a multitude. He even carried his attention
so far as to provide, by his will, for the tranquil-
lity of the state, in case of his losing his life in
this expedition.

A more fortunate crisis could not have been
chosen for leading the troops to conquest.
Southern China, governed by pacific emperors,
could cause him no uneasiness : the northern was
under his own command. The whole of Tar-
tary, and a considerable part of Turkestan, ac-
knowledged also his authority. The rest was in
the possession of Mohammed, who was likewise
master of Great Bucharia, Karazm, whence his
monarchy derived its name, and held in sub-
jection all Persia, Persian Irak, and the fron-
tiers of India. He marched an army of five
hundred thousand men ; but these forces were
his last and only dependence. He could expect
no aid from Georgia nor Armenia, whose sove-

reigns were pleased to find an opportunity of freeing themselves from their annual tribute; nor any reinforcements from the princes of Egypt and the adjacent countries, which were desolated by the crusaders, much less from the caliph of Bagdad, his secret enemy, who was possessed of Arabian Irak, Chaldea, and the three Arabias; nor, in fine, from the Seljuks of Anatolia, nor from the Greek emperors, who were engaged in hostilities against each other. All these resources were denied to Mohammed, who saw himself alone exposed to the violence of a torrent, whose course he had not had the prudence to divert.

But it was not only a torrent spreading devastation, it was a thunder-bolt bursting over several countries at once, involving them in flames and ruin. One cannot better paint the celerity and extent of the military exploits of Jenghis Khan. Never were conquerors so destructive. His generals rushed on every part of the whole empire of Karazm at once, and enveloped it in one devouring conflagration. The most beautiful and flourishing cities, on their quitting them, were reduced to heaps of cinders. Although the sultan employed every effort in his power to succour his wretched dominions, his armies were constantly defeated in general engagements; and if they sometimes obtained a few partial advantages, they served only to retard, for a short time,

the ruin of some cities and countries ; and to add lustre to the names of some of his captains. One of these, Khan Malek, a tributary to the sultan of Karazm, and himself sultan of Kajead, after having performed prodigies of valour during the siege of that place, escaped by stratagem, and pursuing his way sometimes on the bank, sometimes in a boat, by following the course of the river Sir, eluded the vigilance of an immense army, and retreated to a place of safety.

Mohammed, harassed without intermission, and with a degree of rancorous hatred which allowed him no repose, at length arrived at a small town on the borders of the Caspian sea. While a prey to the bitterest reflexion, he was endeavouring to find consolation in religion, whose duties he practised with fervour, tidings reached him that the enemy was approaching. The unfortunate monarch had but just time to throw himself on board a small vessel that was in readiness. He was not too soon; for the arrows shot at him by the soldiers who crowded to the shore, fell in showers around him. The vessel landed him on a small island, where an acute illness, added to his grief, speedily terminated his existence. He was buried in his shirt only, for want of other linen; and his funeral obsequies were performed with extreme simplicity. Before he expired, he had the happiness of seeing several of his children, who visited him in his retreat. Jalaloddin, the

eldest, he appointed to succeed him, to whom he gave his sword, enjoining him to avenge him on the Moguls.

Fate had denied this prince the power of fulfilling his father's injunctions. Few examples occur of so determined a courage, and such unceasing fortitude in adversity; but notwithstanding his unwearied efforts, constantly renewed, and constantly ineffectual, he had the affliction of seeing his cities, one after another, become the spoil of the enemy, demolished, and the greater part rased to the ground. The numbers of men who perished by the sword, and of women and children condemned to captivity, are beyond the power of conception. The beautiful region of Asia, lately so fertile and wealthy, became desert, and its populous cities one pile of rubbish, the haunts of beasts of prey, less savage than these ferocious conquerors.

Grand hunting match.

The Moguls employed those arts towards men that Jenghis Khan taught them to use towards animals in the celebrated hunting matches, which are still practised among the Tartars. They are the exercise of the troops in winter, and are performed in the following manner: The emperor commands the huntsman to trace out a circle several miles in circumference:—the officers then range the troops around: the soldiers begin their march to the sound of martial music, and continue gradually to advance

altogether towards the centre, driving before them the animals within the circle; but they are forbidden to kill or wound any of them, however ferocious they may be. They encamp every night, when all the manœuvres of war are punctually executed. The march lasts many weeks: the space lessens; and the creatures finding themselves close pressed, flee to the mountains and forests, whence they are soon dislodged by the hunters opening their dens and kennels with spades and mattocks; they even make use of ferrets to drive them out of their burrows.

Their usual ground failing them by degrees, the different species mix together. Some of the animals growing furious dart on the weaker kinds and devour them, and it is with extreme difficulty that the soldiers contrive to chase them forward by incessant shouts. At length, when the circle is so diminished as to permit them to distinguish all the beasts, the drums, cimbals, and a variety of other warlike instruments, strike up. Their sounds, joined to the shouts and cries of the hunters and soldiers, terrify the animals to such a degree that they lose all their native ferocity: lions and tigers are seen to crouch, and bears and wild boars, like creatures of the most timid natures, are affrighted and confounded.

The great-khan, accompanied by his sons and principal officers, first enters the circle,

holding his drawn fabre, and bow and arrows, and begins the slaughter by striking the most savage of the animals, some of whom, resuming their ferocity, struggle hard to defend their lives. The emperor then retires to an eminence, where a throne has been previously raised, whence he views the attack, from which no one shrinks, however great the danger he has to brave. When the princes and nobles have given sufficient proofs of their skill and prowess, the youths of the army enter the space and continue the carnage. Such was the chase of which Jenghis Khan left the model to his successors. It terminated by the emperor's sons, yet in a state of childhood, advancing and entreating him to give life and liberty to the remainder of the animals. Both these requests being granted, the chase ended, after having continued during four months.

Jenghis Khan employed similar manœuvres against Jalalo-ddin, taking all his cities and fortresses, encompassing him on every side, till he had confined him in a small island on the borders of the Indus. Reduced to this extremity, the sultan determined to attempt one grand decisive blow. He burned his ships, to deprive his army of all hope of escape, with the exception of one, reserved to save his family, and then waited with fortitude the enemy's approach. His soldiers, surrounded like the ani-

imals in the chase, defended themselves like lions and tigers roused from their momentary stupor. They forced many of the Moguls to bite the dust; but numbers prevailed. Pressed on every side, the Karazmians took refuge in the rocks, whither the Tartar cavalry could not penetrate. Reduced to seven hundred men, Jalalo-ddin found it impossible to sustain a second attack. The vessel destined to transport his unhappy family had split asunder on quitting the shore, and these children of misfortune were doomed to remain on land. The prince embraced his mother, wife, and offspring; bursting into tears, tore himself from their endearments, stripped off his cuirass, quitted all his arms, except his sword and bow and quiver, mounts a fresh horse, and plunged into the river.

Jenghis Khan hastened to the water-edge. The sultan, from the middle of the stream, emptied his quiver against him, as if in defiance. The Tartar, admiring his courage, prevented some Mogul captains from pursuing him; and addressing his children who surrounded him, said: "Happy the father who can boast of such a son! He who can brave the dangers this prince has just escaped can encounter a thousand others; and a prudent man at enmity with him, would be always on his guard." This admiration, which might be mistaken for

compassion, endured but for a moment. The unfortunate family was brought into his presence, and massacred by his command. Jalalo ddin having safely reached the opposite bank, passed the night in a tree from fear of the wild beasts. The next day, while wandering sorrowfully along the shore, he met a small company of his soldiers, with three of his confidential friends, who had found a boat to follow him. They informed him of the escape of two thousand of his forces from the first engagement. At the same time an officer of his household joined him with a boat laden with arms, provisions, money, and clothing for the troops. With these succours he established himself in India; but this could not obliterate the remembrance of his former kingdom. Thither he returned; his courage sustained him for some time against the shafts of his bad fortune; but at length, sinking beneath the load, he died in obscurity shortly after Jenghis Khan.

While this prince, on one side of his empire, had fixed the Indus as its limit, his lieutenants on the other subjugated Persia, enclosed the Caspian sea within his dominion, and carried their victorious arms as far as Iconium, whose sultans, and some other Turkish sovereigns, they rendered tributaries. As soon as the princes and generals were returned from their several expeditions, he assembled them in a plain of

twenty-one miles in extent ; but this space, though great, scarcely afforded room for the tents and equipages of those who were convoked. The khan's quarters alone occupied nearly six miles in circumference ; the tent destined for the assembly might contain about two thousand persons ; its covering was white, to distinguish it from all the rest. A magnificent throne was erected on it, and the black felt was not forgotten on which the monarch sat when he first took the name of Jenghis Khan ; a symbol of the original poverty of the Moguls, which always continued an object of veneration among them ; though they already had estranged themselves from their primitive simplicity, and all the luxury of Asia glittered in their attire, horses, harness, arms, and furniture. The emperor received the homage of his powerful vassals with majesty, and that of his children and grandchildren, who were introduced to kiss his hand, with tenderness. He graciously accepted their presents, and in return distributed among them very magnificent donations. The soldiery also partook of his liberality.

Although the necessary regulations for so vast an empire must have been numerous, Jagatay, his minister, had arranged the laws in such excellent order, that every thing was adjusted without difficulty. As the Khan loved to speak in public, he availed himself of this opportunity to

pronounce an oration in favour of his code of laws ; to the observance of which he attributed all his successes and conquests, which he enumerated with great exactness. The ambassadors and envoys from the different countries reduced under his obedience were, by his order, then admitted, to whom he gave audience, and dismissed them all well satisfied with his reception. The ceremonial terminated with a grand festival, which continued many days, accompanied with banquets, at which was served whatever was most exquisite in liquors, fruits, and game, throughout his immense dominions.

This species of triumph was followed by further enterprizes, always crowned with victory. Prosperity was his constant attendant, and never quitted him to the tomb. He died at the age of seventy, after a reign of twenty-two years ; to the latest period of his existence preserving an undiminished authority over all the surrounding nations. He left his throne to his son Oktay ; and commanded that Toley, another of his children, should assume the regency till his brother, who was then absent, should return.

The nobles, generals, ministers, and the princes his relatives, prostrated themselves, and solemnly promised to see his will executed. His funeral was conducted in a style of superior magnificence, unfulled with the human sacrifices which ensanguined the tombs of his successors. His

sepulchre, raised with unadorned simplicity beneath the shade of a spreading tree, under which he had loved to repose, became an object of veneration to the people, who delighted in embellishing it.

Jenghis Khan merited this respect arising from esteem, if we consider his extraordinary qualities. He possessed all those which characterize a conqueror : a genius capable of conceiving great and arduous designs, and prudence equal to their execution ; a native and persuasive eloquence ; a degree of patience enabling him to endure and overcome fatigue ; an admirable temperance ; a superior understanding, and a penetrating mind that instantly seized the measure proper to adopt. His military talents are conspicuous in his successfully introducing a strict discipline and severe police among the Tartars, till then indocile to the curb of restraint. Every thing was regulated, whether service, recompense, or punishment. Wine was no excuse, neither were birth and power a palliation for error. The religion he professed was deism, but his subjects were individually permitted to embrace that they preferred, provided they believed in one only God ; and no person was suffered to be persecuted for his faith. Some of his children, and the princes of the blood, were christians ; some jews and mahometans, without his expressing any disapprobation.

His laws were simple, suitable to a new-formed people, who have few social compacts. They command the belief of one only God: that the chiefs of sects, and ministers of worship of whatever denomination, should be exempt from taxes; as also physicians: that no person, or his life should pay the forfeit, should cause himself to be proclaimed great-khan, unless he should have been previously elected at a general diet: that no treaty of peace should be entered into with any king, prince, or nation, until they were first subdued. Each subject is obliged to serve the public in whatever way his talents may be of utility. No Mogul shall ever make a Mogul his servant, under pain of death. No Tartar shall give meat or drink to a slave who is not his property, without his master's leave; consequently desertion became very difficult.

The punishments to be inflicted on offenders was fixed. Adultery was punishable with death. The inhabitants of one of the provinces, who were in the habit of offering their wives to their guests and friends, murmured at this law: Jenghiz Khan left them in possession of their custom; but he declared them infamous. Polygamy was permitted in the greatest extent; but marriage prohibited in the first and second degrees of affinity.

To multiply alliances between families, they might even take place among the dead: in this

manner the nuptial contract should be written, and the ceremony performed between a defunct man and woman. By that mean the deceased parties were considered as married, and the families allied in reality. This custom is still prevalent among the Tartars. They throw the contract into the fire, and imagine that the flames will waft it to the wedded pair, who will be espoused in the other world. It was prohibited, under pain of death, to despoil the enemy ere the general had granted leave. Unfortunately under this reign leave was never refused. After the example of their potentate, all Jenghis Khan's chieftains were sanguinary and inexorable. According to the least exaggerated calculation, not fewer than two millions of men fell beneath the murdering sword, without reckoning the number that affliction, and the horrors of slavery, consigned to the grave; there were probably fifty thousand cities demolished, some of them entirely desolated, the very vestiges of which scarcely remain.

A queen, greatly beloved by her subjects, was taken captive by Jenghis Khan, who led her in chains in the midst of his wives, on an elevated car, through the states she had governed. Was this procedure the barbarous vanity of the conqueror, or an awful warning to the people, that they had irrevocably passed under a foreign dominion? In whatever view we consider this ac-

tion, it will not impress us with a very favourable idea of Tartar gallantry.

Oktay,
1226.

Although Oktay had been declared emperor by his father, he refused to accept the crown till it should be delegated to him by the states. From the period of Jenghis Khan's death to the meeting of the assembly two years elapsed, during which Toley governed with universal applause. They were obliged to have recourse to compulsory measures to make Oktay burthen himself with the sovereignty. His father had selected his ministers and generals with so much judgment, that any change was unnecessary. The new emperor placed his chief confidence in Yelu, who also had enjoyed that of the deceased; a man of integrity, learned in the laws, of consummate prudence, and wholly devoted to the good of the empire. At the head of his armies, Oktay placed Toley his brother, whom he tenderly loved, and never had reason to repent his choice.

His talents were of singular utility in the war which his father left him to prosecute against the inhabitants of southern China, whom Jenghis Khan had intended to subdue. This war gave rise to various traits of heroic fortitude, which deserve notice. Chin-in, governor of a town of importance, whose bravery had retarded for some time its falling into the enemy's hands,

finding he could hold out no longer, as it was on the point of being stormed, urged his wife to provide for her safety. The lady replied: "Since I have shared with you all the honours of life, I will also share your tomb." She immediately took poison, and gave it to her children. Chin-in, after presiding at their obsequies, flew himself, and the town was taken.

Ilapua, an excellent officer, much beloved and esteemed, having been taken in battle, constantly refused to live on condition of his changing the service. "I am," said he, "one of the principal generals of the Kins: I wish to die on my master's territory." They granted his request, though with regret, and he was put to death. Ho-Shang, a prince belonging to the imperial house, illustrious for his courage, greatness of soul, and a number of brilliant actions, concealed himself during a defeat, and afterwards came forwards, and demanded to be presented to Toley. He thus addressed him: "My name is Ho-Shang; I am one of the imperial family. I command the battalion called the faithful: three times have your armies fled before me. I would not die with a troop of obscure soldiers. I will have my fidelity known to the world; posterity will do justice to my memory." It were desirable that the Tartar prince had saved so brave a man; but he abandoned him to the soldiery, who first

tortured, and then massacred him. Some among them, of a more generous nature, poured camels' milk on the earth, intreating him, should he ever revive, to return and live with the Moguls.

At the siege of Pienking, the capital, the Tartars employed machines which threw whole mill-stones at once. The Chinese used different inventions of various forms to throw fire, and which they called pau, an imitative sound, expressive of the noise of an explosion. With these also they hurled globes of iron filled with powder, which bursting on their being set on fire, produced a report resembling thunder. This fire penetrated the soldiers' breastplates, and consumed all within two thousand feet around. To dislodge the besiegers from the mines they were digging under their footsteps, the besieged lowered these globes, supported by chains of iron, from the walls; they caught fire at the entrance of the subterraneous passage by means of a match, and hurled destruction among the enemy, who were extremely dismayed at these arms, as well as at the halberds of fire which the Chinese likewise employed. These murderous effects, similar to those of gun-powder, renders it probable, contrary to the received opinion, that from the early periods of the thirteenth century the Chinese made use of powder for other purposes besides fire-works at their

festivals. In the short space of sixteen days and nights, the number of the slain on both sides amounted to a million!

The Chinese emperor was named Sheu. To judge of him by his actions he certainly was not deficient in courage, but he was indecisive in his disposition, without talents for governing, and ignorant of men and manners. He challenged the enemy, retreated, and returned to the charge; defended a fortress, and abandoned it. This want of steadiness reduced his affairs to the most deplorable disorder: he lost the esteem of his people, but not their affection. Sheu was conscious of his faults. Observing one day in a city through which he fled with all his family that his subjects were in tears, he said to them—"I do not desire that you should think much of me, but remember the obligations you owe to my ancestors." At these words their sobs broke forth afresh. This prince, the sport of fortune, instead of the brilliant retinue of prosperity, saw himself surrounded with that of misfortune, ingratitude, insolence, and the tyranny of those whom himself had raised to power. One of the latter, under the pretext of anxiety for the emperor's safety, kept him close prisoner in his palace, but with the real design of making advantageous terms with the enemy. How often did the unfortunate monarch exclaim, while groaning under the iron

chains of perfidy—"Oh! how much do I lament I did not better choose my officers! How great is my grief at being confined by a slave, whom I have loaded with favours!" He at length was liberated by some of his faithful subjects, who put the traitor to death.

The emperor was then shut up in his last remaining town, the siege of which the Tartars pursued with unremitting animosity. The wretched inhabitants endured the most dreadful extremes of famine. After having eaten the horses, they boiled the leather of their saddles, boots, and drums. The old men, the infirm, and many of the prisoners and wounded, were killed for sustenance, and the remaining soldiers pounded the bones of men and animals, and mixed them with dried herbs to make a horrid pottage. These woeful extremities determined Sheu to make a last and desperate effort to repulse his enemies. He sallied out at the head of the remnant of his bravest troops, but again was driven back. The Tartars became masters of a breach, through which they were on the point of spreading themselves over the town.

The emperor sent in haste for Cheng-Lin, one of his relatives, and conjured him, in presence of all the nobles, to accept the empire. "If you should escape," said he, "you will continue our race, and revive the splendor of

“ this depressed throne. With regard to myself,” added he, “ during ten years that I have filled the throne, I have committed no heinous crime to burthen my conscience; I have no fear of death. I observe that all the dynasties have finished under princes either brutal, drunken, covetous, or debauched; you know I am not such: but notwithstanding the dynasty of the Kins ends with me, and I see with grief that those princes under whom the dynasties have terminated, in general, have been exposed to insults, outrage, imprisonment, and ignominy, I declare to you this day that such shall never be my fate.” Then clothing himself in a coarse garment, he rushed furiously on the Tartars as they advanced. Death, which he sought in the midst of the enemy, still respected him. On the point of being taken prisoner, he retreated to a house which he had previously caused to be surrounded with faggots and straw, and ordered it to be set on fire as soon as he was dead. He then fell on his sword, expired, and the house was consumed.

When Jenghis Khan first became master of part of the Kin dominions, some of his avaricious courtiers endeavoured to persuade him that the country would be useless, unless he put the inhabitants to death, and that then it might be converted into fine pasturage, capable of considerable produce. Without doubt those rapa-

cious and cruel projectors intended to have employed mercenaries of their own choosing, who would have returned them the product, from whence must have flowed immense wealth. The minister Yelu prevented the execution of this barbarous project. Turning to the emperor he said: "You possess but a very small portion of China, but by establishing good regulations, the arable lands, the salt, the iron, the profits arising from the rivers, and other merchandize, may return you annually considerable revenues in money, provisions, and different commodities, without oppressing the people." He added: "A conqueror should seek renown by other means than massacres; it is true there must be soldiers and chieftains to fight, but there must also be magistrates to govern, peasants to labour, merchants to traffic, mandarins to take care of the revenues of the empire, and even persons of learning to instruct the people and subdue the human soul." This sage counsel germinated in the comprehensive mind of Jenghis Khan, and produced excellent effects; but these were still increased under Oktay, who was also sensible of their great importance. He committed the execution of his plan to his minister Yelu, whose regulations, founded in prudence and equity, rendered commerce and agriculture equally flourishing. He established duties, and

fixed the taxes. The emperor received a tenth on wine, rice, and corn, and a thirtieth on all other commodities. It seems that the salt was partly farmed. This minister afterwards opposed an augmentation on the duties which was proposed by the contractors, but his argument did not prevail. He sighed deeply, and said aloud—"That the misery to which they were reducing the Chinese, would soon be followed by still greater misfortunes."

When Oktay ascended the throne he divided the provinces among his brothers, relations, and principal nobility, who under his rigid inspection governed with perfect moderation. By this mean he enjoyed a tranquil reign, but its duration was only of thirteen years. He was aged sixty-five, and died after a splendid repast, in consequence of too much indulgence. It appears that this prince was very inimical to informers, and meanness of any sort. There was a law extant prohibiting, under pain of death, the cutting the throats of animals, and commanding they should be ripped up, and the heart torn out. This law, like all those of a similar nature, had a political tendency, viz. that of familiarizing the Moguls to the custom of eating the entrails of animals, which before they dared not touch. A mahometan bought a sheep, and cut off its head. A Mogul, having observed him shut his door very cautiously, sus-

pected his intention, climbed on the roof, witnessed the whole transaction, arrested the delinquent, and led him before the emperor. Oktay, after a few minutes' reflexion, acquitted the mahometan, because the precautions he had taken to conceal the fact proved his respect for the laws; and condemned the Mogul to death, because he had infringed the public safety by climbing on his neighbour's roof unknown to him.

Kayuk, 3d
Khan, 1242.

After the decease of Oktay, the empress Tolyekona caused herself to be acknowledged regent, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Yelu, who insisted that, according to the late emperor's intention, his grand-son Sheleymen ought to be proclaimed. The artful widow, without disputing his pretensions, suspended the nomination for two years; and when she was assured of the suffrages, she named her own son Kayuk. By insensible degrees she also found means to deprive the minister of his power. It is even said that he died of grief in consequence of it; but this is surprizing, for no man ever possessed such various resources to console him in disgrace. Yelu was extremely learned in the Chinese sciences. After his death, his enemies proposed that his wealth should undergo a thorough examination; but their search covered them with shame. They found very little money, but a great number of volumes written by his

own hand, on the subjects of history, astronomy, agriculture, government, and commerce; medals, musical instruments, old books, and antique inscriptions engraved on stones, metals, and marble. In his travels he had carefully collected these curiosities in lieu of the riches which he might have amassed. He was endowed in an eminent degree with all the qualities of a great minister; an inflexible steadiness, extraordinary presence of mind, a perfect knowledge of the countries under his master's authority, discernment in the choice of persons he employed, and certain resources, in case of necessity, both of vast sums of money and provisions. He made considerable expenditures to draw artificers, officers, engineers, and learned men from every part, into the Mogul dominions. He was constantly labouring to inspire the princes with a love for the people, and the people with an abhorrence for carnage and rapine. At the sacking of the capital of China, and the king's palaces, while the rest were insatiable of plunder, all he took for his portion consisted of some geographical maps, some books and paintings, and a few parcels of rhubarb, which he afterwards employed in curing the soldiers of a malignant epidemic fever.

It is impossible to be too lavish of the praises due to Yelu for his endeavours to reform the morals and character of the Moguls. He was their first teacher, and in quality of legislator, he

arranged a calendar for their use, and instituted salutary regulations respecting the finances, commerce, duties, the public granaries, and the subordination of the officers, both of the civil and military department. The natural ferocity of the Moguls, their ignorance, their early education, all concurred in opposing formidable obstacles to his designs, but his energy enabled him to surmount them. Under his administration the custom of choosing the most beautiful young females for the emperor's palace was abolished. In fine, it may be said that the power this great man enjoyed under Jenghis Khan, and Oktay, does honour to their memory. The annals of China relate that, towards this period, the Tartars penetrated into countries whose inhabitants had blue eyes, and long hair; and where the days were so long, at the summer solstice, that there was scarcely any night. These traits acquaint us with their irruptions into Russia, Poland, Moravia, and as far as Bohemia, Austria, and Hungary.

The empress Tolyekona possessed vast authority under Kayuk. This prince is much blamed for not having governed by himself, for having suffered his mother and the nobility to usurp too great a share of power, and for having been too favourably inclined towards the bonzes and lamas. History commends his beneficence, and the courage he displayed in war. He com-

manded his armies in person at the conquest of Korea, and the nations he subdued in the vicinity of the Caspian sea. He is reproached for his excessive prodigality. The people murmured loudly, and made heavy complaints of their being obliged to furnish horses to the nobles, who were riding post both night and day, and were much displeased at the enormous expense of the court in jewels and precious stones, which were bought at astonishing sums of the mahometan merchants, while the treasury scarcely contained sufficient to pay the numerous armies that were forced to be kept on foot. Kayuk died at the age of forty-three, after a reign of eight years. Although he left sons, the dowager Talyekona, and the favourite widow Wauli-hamish, undertook to cause the same Shelyemen whom the former had displaced on account of her son Kayuk to be nominated. In the hope of enjoying this dignity, Shelyemen lived as emperor during the two years which the regency of the two princesses continued, till the states were assembled; when, to the amazement of the prince and his protectresses, the choice fell on Mengko, who was likewise grandson to Jenghis Khan, but not of the reigning branch.

After the preceding events, it is not surprizing Mengko, 4th Khan, 1250. that there should be some attempts made in favour of him who had stood on the very steps of the throne. The commotions extended through

several provinces of the empire ; but Mengko soon calmed them by the firmness and celerity of his measures, and his precaution of encamping a good army near Korakorum the royal residence. He is charged with the cruelty of having put to death the two empresses, whose rebellion apparently could not be clearly proved, as they were executed under the accusation of witchcraft, the crime of those who have none. The prince Shelyemen was imprisoned in a fortress, and heard no more of. The emperor, to gain the affection of the more enlightened part of his subjects, offered a solemn sacrifice to heaven on a mountain, according to the Chinese rites, which ceremony he renewed at stated intervals. He attached himself to one of the prevailing religions of the country, that of the lamas, to which he appointed a chief, under the name of doctor and master of the emperor. He relieved himself also from the burthen of the government of China, by erecting fiefs for the princes of his house, as an indemnification of former services, and reserved the sovereignty for himself.

The best portioned in this manner was his brother Kublay, who bears an exalted name in history. He chose a Chinese called Yau-shu for his minister, whose integrity was universally acknowledged, and whose prudence was superior. The prince fixed a firm resolution to be guided by his counsel, and had no reason to repent.

As it always happens after successful wars, there were towns and villages destitute of inhabitants, and vast and beautiful countries rendered desert. Yau-shu assembled as many peasants and labourers as he could, divided the lands among them, and provided them with every thing necessary for their culture. He regulated what quantity of produce should be given annually as well for the duties to the emperor, as for the magazines and public granaries. These arrangements were very grateful to the Chinese, who were charmed that the prince cultivated the sciences, and esteemed their customs. On the other side, the Tartars being well paid, were fully satisfied. Kublay distinguished officers of merit, and consulted those who were experienced; he partook of the exercise of the bow and arrow with those who joined the chase, and in all things conformed to their inclination.

This mild and moderate government was represented to the emperor by the calumniators of that prince as a scheme formed to render himself independent. Mengko, but too easily led to suspicion, began by depriving his brother of his government, and breaking those generals who appeared too much attached to him. In their place he nominated officers, and mandarins to try those who were criminal. Kublay, disconcerted by this disgrace, so little merited, felt himself disposed to fly to arms; but as he

undertook nothing without the advice of Yau-shu, so by his counsel he set off unattended by either guards or troops, and went and threw himself into the emperor's arms. At the sight of his brother's humility and confidence, Mengko's tenderness revived. He repeatedly embraced Kublay, while tears flowed down his cheeks, revoked his orders, and appointed him to full and unlimited authority during the war he was entering on against the Song, a people of China he wished to reduce under his sceptre. But his measures were badly concerted, and a siege carried on at an improper time cost him his life. He fell, covered with wounds, before a town he was attempting to storm. He was fifty-two years of age, and had reigned nine.

Kublay, 5th
Khan, 259

While he was expiring on the ramparts of the Song, his brother was attacking them on the opposite side. When informed of the emperor's death, he immediately hastened and put himself at the head of the army who had lost their chief. He at first rejected the very advantageous conditions offered him by Kya-tse tau, minister to Li-tsung, emperor of the Song; but he afterwards accepted them, on hearing that Alipuko, his brother, aspired to the crown, and was then with a great army in the neighbourhood of Korakorum, the ancient capital. Mengko had built a new one, called Chan-tu. The treaty between the Tartars and the Song was

agreeable to both emperors ; to the Tartar, because he obtained a subsidy ; to the Song, because his minister concealed from him that dishonourable condition, and persuaded him that the peace, in all respects glorious, was the just recompense of the courage of his troops, and the victories they had obtained. Tranquil on that side, Kublay marched against his brother, who had a powerful party of adherents, gave him battle, and obliged him to seek his safety in flight.

Kublay then assembled round him wise and able ministers, from whose united counsels resulted the excellent regulations which have rendered illustrious the reign of that prince. There was, however, one of the number who counteracted the good intentions of the rest. He had discovered his master's foible, who loved money, and had found the means of gratifying it. This talent rendered the emperor deaf to the remonstrances made him on the power he intrusted to a minister who dishonoured him by his exactions. The prince shewed no displeasure at the liberty taken by these honest people, but he still employed the useful financier ; resembling, in that respect, many other persons who see and approve what is right, but who do what is wrong. In every thing else Kublay may be considered as a model for sovereigns. He prided himself on his being able to distinguish, from his own observa-

tion, those among his subjects who might contribute to give splendour to his reign, either by arms, science, or commerce. He made it a law to patronize all persons of merit, without any distinction of nation or religion. Prior to that period, the Tartars had respected military talents only. Kublay raised into greater esteem the learned mandarins, to whom he confided the government of the people, and the administering of justice to individuals. He fixed their number, rank, authority, employment, and salary. He established tribunals of war, commerce, manufactures, and public works; erected a palace in honour of his ancestors, and was the first Mogul prince who attended in person to pay his respects there. The observance of the ceremonies performed on that occasion are become an affair of state in China—a strict and indispensable duty, from which his successors have never deviated. The Chinese are indebted to Kublay for their first set of mathematical instruments, which he collected from every quarter; with original and translated books. He founded a college of astronomers commissioned to compile the almanac, state the returns of the holidays, and whatever has a reference to religion; as also an academy of men of literature, chiefly employed on the history of the country, the members of which are called Hanlin, and are held in high estimation. In fine, he instituted censors of the empire, the most

useful of all establishments, if courage were always the attendant of vigilance.

Kublay charged the chief lama to invent characters purposely for the Moguls, who till then had promiscuously used those of the conquered nations. He made them to represent sounds, in contradistinction to the Chinese characters, which are the images of things. The worthy emperor deemed it not beneath his dignity to interrogate the Moguls himself on their progress in the sciences; and the more effectually to inspire emulation by example, his own children were educated conformably to these principles.

These occupations did not render Kublay neglectful of what was due to him from the Song. He sent to demand the tribute; but the minister Kya-tse-tau, to prevent the exposure of his turpitude, caused the ambassadors to be assassinated before they reached the court. This act of treacherous barbarity, of which it was difficult not to suspect the monarch as an accomplice, drew on the latter a most fatal war. The command of the Mogul armies usually was conferred by favour, each minister presenting a general of his choice: Kublay, on the present occasion, depended on his own judgment only, and appointed a general, named Peyen, who already had acquired great fame from several warlike achievements. There are very few examples on record of a war in which the subjects displayed so much energy of mind,

1274.

attachment to their sovereign, and patriotic zeal, and in which their noble efforts were so feebly seconded by the government. It was then in the hands of a woman, the grand-mother of a prince of twelve years of age, who was entirely directed by the traitor Kya-tse-tau. However, when the public affairs began to wear a threatening aspect, she dismissed him. He was shortly after put to death by the Moguls in a retreat he had chosen for his residence.

All the valour, all the address of Peyen, joined to the intrepidity and perseverance of his troops, were scarcely sufficient to conquer the Song, who defended themselves with the desperate courage of despair. When they found their resistance ineffectual, they preferred killing each other, and rushing to certain death on the enemy's spears, to surrendering. History affords many examples, not of single families, but whole towns who thus fell, or else devoted themselves to the flames; insomuch, that when the conquerors entered they saw only dead bodies and ashes. The empress made several attempts to come to terms of pacification, even offering the condition that her son should become subject to the Moguls. Her ambassador endeavoured to move the general's compassion, by representing to him the injustice there would be in plundering a child. Peyen replied: "With regard to the prince's youth,

“ you should reflect that formerly your dynasty
“ wrested the empire from a prince nearly the
“ same age as your’s. To-day, Heaven takes
“ away the empire from a child to give it to my
“ master. It is the will of fate, and mortals must
“ submit.”

This answer announcing an irrevocable sentence, the regent consented to commit herself, together with Kong-tsung, her son, into the general’s hands. He treated her with the greatest apparent respect; but at the same time deprived her, as well as the young king, of all the ancient marks of their dignity. He sent them to the khan’s court. As soon as Kublay was informed of their approach, the empress Hongkila, his first wife, a princess eminent for her virtue and mildness, by his desire set out to meet them. She endeavoured, by every attention in her power, to console these illustrious captives; and when the emperor spread before the princes and princesses of his court the jewels and treasures found in the Song’s palace—riches which all present contemplated with delight—Hongkila could not refrain from tears, and said to her husband: “ My lord, dynasties are not eternal: judge
“ from that of the Song, what will be the fate
“ of our’s.”

In the midst of the confusion occasioned by the capture of the capital, the faithful Chinese saved two young princes, the children of the late em-

peror by another wife, and unfurled their standard in the name of the eldest. He died of illness. They then placed Ti-ping on the throne. Had it not been for the disunion which prevailed among them, for the treason sowed by the conquerors, and the fears of the vanquished, they would have been able to defend themselves, being still possessed of entire provinces, resolute foldiers, good towns, ships, and other parts of the wreck which always remains after the subversion of a mighty empire. They agreed to carry on a clandestine war, which would have greatly embarrassed the Moguls. The Chinese generals, however, wishing to terminate the whole at one effort, united their forces, but so great was the confusion and want of discipline that they were surprized.

Defeated by land, they sought refuge in their ships, which made no better resistance. Lufyeu-fu, one of the chiefs, seeing all was lost, sailed to the emperor's vessel, in which were his own wife and children, whom he caused to be thrown into the sea, and then advancing towards the youthful monarch, he addressed him in a firm tone, saying: "My lord, do not dishonour your illustrious family by following the example of Kong-tsung, your brother; die a sovereign prince rather than live the slave of a foreign nation." He then embraced him in tears, took him on his shoulder, and plunged

with him into the deep. The greater part of the mandarins followed him.

The princess mother, who was at some distance from the other ships, anxiously expected news of her son. He who brought the mournful tidings attempted to speak comfort to her, but, without uttering one word of complaint, without shedding one tear, she cast herself into the ocean. Her ladies and attendants imitated her example; and the Chinese historians relate, that no less than a hundred thousand men drowned themselves on that occasion. Thus ended the Song dynasty, the family name of which was Chau.

1279

Kublay's taste for war increasing with his conquests, inspired him with the desire of subjugating southern China and Japan. The inhabitants of the latter not only despised his menaces, but insulted his ambassadors. A fleet he sent against them was dispersed in a storm. Upwards of sixty thousand Chinese and Tartars perished in this unfortunate expedition, which was extremely displeasing to the ministers and nobility. They murmured greatly also at the emperor's not withdrawing his confidence from Ahama; and after the punishment of that extortioner, whose malversations were at length proved, that he should appoint another to direct the finances to the full as rapacious as the former. Some of the mandarins, faithful to their trust, wished to undeceive the prince once more. "If we do not,"

said they, " posterity will not fail to do us justice, and we shall be branded as men devoid of honour. The good of the empire demands that we should expose him who seeks its ruin." One of them, named Cheli, devoted himself to the public weal. The enraged emperor caused him to be so cruelly bastinadoed, that the blood gushed from his nose and mouth. Kublay imagining, that in this suffering state the accuser would acknowledge himself in fault, interrogated him anew ; but he answered : " It is solely for the public good and the prince's honour that I have spoken : may I die if I do not prove my accusation." Struck by this firmness of behaviour, the khan examined the evidence, discovered the truth, and punished the offender. He repented of the barbarous treatment inflicted on Cheli, and complained because he had not been earlier informed. The censors of the empire replied : " Till now it has been attended with too much danger to acquaint you with the intrigues of unworthy ministers." It is certain, that when princes are ignorant on this point, it is because they choose to be so.

Kublay employed the last year of his life in perfecting the many useful establishments he had founded ; and that all his subjects might enjoy the advantages arising from his personal influence, he divided his time equally between Tartary and China, in which he was imitated

by his successors. Among a variety of works of national utility resulting from his conquest must be reckoned the canals of communication between the rivers, and the immense labours undertaken to render the latter navigable. The attention with which he watched over every branch of the administration gave vigour to the government. Cheng-kin, his eldest son, styled the hereditary prince, admirably seconded him in all his endeavours. He died at the age of forty-three, having always testified, from his earliest youth, the most earnest inclination for virtue and morality. On his going to relieve the celebrated Peyen, whom the emperor recalled to court after his martial achievements in China, the prince requested the general to direct him in the conduct he ought to pursue, to which he replied: "Prince, attach yourself neither to women nor wine, and all will prosper with you." This advice, perhaps, was an indirect censure on the emperor, who is suspected to have been immoderately addicted to both those passions. He is likewise reproached with having too much favoured the sectaries of Fo. Exclusive of these defects, he may justly be esteemed one of the greatest of the Mogul princes. He lived eighty years, of which he reigned fifty-two. He is considered as the first Tartar emperor of China, where his family is distinguished by the name of Ywen.

Timur, 6th
Khan, 1294.

Prince Cheng-kin left three sons, but the motive which induced Kublay in his dying moments to assign the throne to the youngest is unknown. Kanmala, the eldest, far from resenting this preference, set an example of obedience to the rest by conforming to his grandfather's orders, took the oath of allegiance to his youngest brother, and never departed from it.

Timur, well assured of his brother's fidelity, hesitated not to intrust him with the government of Tartary. There his virtuous qualities gained him universal affection and esteem; and his death, which happened while he was yet young, was an event of general mourning. On the other side, Timur captivated the hearts of the Chinese, and united the whole people under his sceptre by his clemency, a point which his predecessor could never accomplish by all his martial exploits. He is extolled by their historians as a model of perfection. His predominant virtue was the love of his people, and to meliorate their condition his constant aim. Besides sending confidential persons into the provinces, commissioned to discover and relieve the necessitous, he not unfrequently visited them in person. Never prince displayed greater judgment in the choice of his ministers and generals, and none ever shewed a more marked contempt for adulation and luxury, vices which but too com-

monly are nourished in a court. He died at the age of forty-two, in the fourteenth year of his reign, without leaving any children, nor having nominated a successor.

When Timur expired, Hayshan, his brother, ^{Hayshan, 7th Khan, 1308.} was at the head of a formidable army not very distant from the capital. The widowed empress aimed at placing on the throne one of the sons of Kanmala, who had so generously ceded the crown to Timur his youngest brother. The wishes of the Moguls and Chinese were in favour of Hayshan, but his absence was against him; Ayyulipalipata urged his claims in opposition to the faction, under the appearance of acting for his personal interest; and his attempt was successful. Hayshan, deceived by the part he had acted, hastened thither under the persuasion that he had a rival more to contend with; but how agreeable must have been his surprize when his brother, resigning the sceptre into his hands, informed him that he had taken it with the sole intention of securing it for him. Hayshan shewed a decided preference for the doctrines of Confucius; he caused his writings to be translated into the language of the Moguls, and earnestly recommended them to their perusal. The sectaries of Fohi, on the contrary, lost much of the credit they had gained during the two preceding reigns. He made the possessions of the bonzes subject to taxes,

which till then had been exempted. This prince was a good warrior, equitable, generous, the patron of men of literature, but too much addicted to wine and women, which two passions abridged his life. He died after a short reign of three years, at the age of thirty-one.

Ayyulipalipata, 8th
Khan, 1311.

It was but just that Ayyulipalipata, who had so nobly preserved the crown for his absent brother, should wear it after his decease; he accordingly ascended the throne without encountering any opposition. Under his reign the empire was afflicted with drought, famine, inundations, earthquakes, malignant disorders, and particularly eclipses of the sun, a species of scourge dreaded most singularly by the Chinese, who cannot be unacquainted with their principle, since they calculate their return. It appears that at that period there were religious dissensions existing; the disciples of Confucius imputed all these disasters to the bonzes, who on their side defended themselves with great warmth. The good emperor took blame to himself in a public manifesto, wherein he confessed that the calamities the people suffered were a just chastizement for the errors he had committed in his government, and promised to correct them. Though such a confession may be honourable in a private character, it will rarely be found advantageous to a prince. Ayyulipalipata applied himself much more to regulate

the interior administration than to the prosecution of war. He once more enforced the annual examination of the mandarins, which though prescribed had fallen into disuse, and presided at it in person. The end proposed in this examination was to raise those who had faithfully discharged their trust to a superior dignity, and to degrade those who should be convicted of prevarication or negligence. He associated Tartar mandarins with the Chinese. It should seem that it was with a view of doing strict justice to himself as well as to others, that he was induced to wish to abdicate the sovereignty, which so humble a monarch might deem himself incompetent to hold; but the prince his son refused to accept the throne his father would have relinquished in his favour. Ayyulipalipata then desisted from his intention, but he declared the hereditary prince his lieutenant-general, and appointed him to take cognizance of all affairs of state. He reigned but nine years, and died at the age of thirty-six;—a prince more estimable by the absence of vice, than by the presence of virtue.

At nineteen years old, Shotepala, in possession of the reins of power, governed with the most consummate wisdom. He reformed the abuses which debased the court, luxury, debauchery, and avarice, which the supineness of his father had

Shotepala,
9th Khan,
1320.

suffered to remain. His profound veneration for his ancestors, and the religious rites which accompanied them, rendered him very dear to the Chinese, whose sentiments of esteem and affection were increased by the diminution of the taxes, and the various bounties distributed with discernment, according to the advice of his minister Pay-chu, a man of superior merit in all respects. The censors of the empire were accused with calumniating the emperor, instead of representing the state of affairs, in consequence of which some of them were capitally convicted. In general, such officers, when they make their observations public, become objects of terror to emperors. Too much confidence was the ruin of the youthful monarch; he did not suspect that the relatives of a guilty minister, who had suffered death justly, would seek to avenge him when in their power. They formed a conspiracy with several of the nobles, who were extremely exasperated at the reform that had taken place, and entering the palace clandestinely, assassinated both the prince and Pay-chu his minister. Shotepala was only twenty-three years of age, and had reigned four. Pay-chu might probably have betrayed too great an aversion for the lamas, whom he treated as people solely employed in accumulating wealth, and protecting villains; but the emperor himself was generally

beloved; the most exalted hopes were formed from his virtues, and his death was considered as a public calamity.

The conspirators formed the design of raising the son of Kanmala, who was then commanding on the frontiers of Tartary, to the throne, and informed him of their intention in his favour; but he, far from consenting to so atrocious a plan, dispatched couriers to apprise the emperor of his danger. They arrived too late; the crime was already perpetrated. Yefun thinking it not prudent to irritate the miscreants, began his reign by granting a general amnesty, and even promoted some of the most distinguished traitors; but as soon as this political act had answered the end proposed, he sentenced them almost all to either death, imprisonment, exile, or confiscation of their property. His subjects, however, not content with this partial justice, murmured loudly that any should have been spared. On this occasion very serious complaints were expressed in an address, which the emperor permitted should be publicly presented to him, perhaps because he could not prevent it. They exhorted him to proceed with rigour against ministers guilty of injustice and venality, for when such crimes were treated with impunity, there was reason to apprehend the approaching dissolution of an empire. The emperor was earnestly entreated to visit the pri-

Yefun Temur, 10th Khan, 1323.

sons, for the purpose of discovering whether among those confined some might not be groaning beneath the rod of oppression; to dispatch magistrates throughout every part of his dominions, commissioned to examine the state of the towns, countries, and of the troops, and to empower them to distribute succours, and even medicines to the sick and infirm poor; to put a stop to the pearl fisheries, which annually were the destruction of so many persons; and to fix a value on precious stones, on which the governors expended enormous sums to make presents to the court, never considering the ruin of a province, provided they were by that mean enabled to support their interest.

A prince, said they, should only think of governing his empire as the father of his subjects, not rest his power on the authority he confides to the bonzes and lamas. Since there have been so many prayers and sacrifices to Fo, Heaven has continually shewed evident marks of displeasure, and till such time that the worship of Fo shall be entirely abolished, and all the bonzes banished, we must expect to be unhappy. It seems that there was a violent outcry against the ministers of the religion of Fohi, particularly against the chiefs who resided at court, displaying a most scandalous degree of luxury, where the favour of the princesses gave them a power which they used to the detriment

of the people. In this address the sovereign was also counselled to banish all the eunuchs, astrologers, physicians, women, and other idlers, from the palace, whose maintenance amounted to exorbitant sums. The empire, added they, is one large family, of which the emperor is the father; it is then very improper that some of his children should expire for want of care and necessities, while others are enjoying the blessings of abundance. It is still more improper that a prince should deem it beneath his dignity to attend to the cries of the unhappy. Yefun was not totally insensible to their complaints, but he was too inactive to remedy many abuses. He died without having conquered his natural indolence, at the age of thirty-six, after a reign of five years.

He left a son who had been declared hereditary prince, which title gave an indisputable right to the sovereignty; however a faction arose, who undertook to concert measures to place two sons of Hayshan, Hoshila and Tutemur, on the throne. To attain that end many nobles were assassinated, which was termed chastisement by the conquering party. As soon as Hoshila was in possession of the crown he proclaimed his brother hereditary prince. He expired suddenly after reigning one year, not without his brother's having been suspected of accelerating his end.

Hoshila,
11th Khan,
1322.

Tutemur,
12th Khan,
1329.

If Tutemur were guilty of his brother's blood, it procured him no long enjoyment. His reign, one scene of conspiracies, lasted but three years. It is observed that he was the first Tartar monarch who visited the temple of heaven and sacrificed there in person: he instituted the law that among the emperor's wives one only should bear the title of empress. Under Jenghis Khan there had been twenty-one, and under various other sovereigns five, or seven. He died at the age of twenty-nine, and commanded that one of the sons of Hoshila, his brother, should be proclaimed.

Touhan-Temur,
13th Khan, 1332.

Ilinchipin, the first who was enthroned, died in the course of a few months. He had been acknowledged by the influence of the empress Putasheli, who, though she had a son named Yentyekutse, insisted that the intention of her deceased spouse should be complied with. On the death of Hinchipin, she caused Touhan, another of Hoshila's sons, to be invested with the sovereign power, notwithstanding the persuasions employed to induce her to elect her own son. A more worthless choice could not have been made. Touhan's inclinations tended only towards luxury, indolence, and dissipation: he was both timid and cruel—qualities which not unfrequently associate. On his ascending the throne he trembled at the sight of the vast

power enjoyed by the minister who placed him there. Had he not died so opportunely, he would most probably have found a way to remove him, as he had already found one to rid himself of the empress Putasheli, to whom he was indebted for the crown, but whose great influence terrified him, because founded on the public esteem.

The distaste he felt for engaging in any state affairs was soon augmented by the artifice of his minister, named Oga-Tay, who being acquainted with the irresolute and inactive character of his master, described his several occupations as an impossible labour; appalled his feeble mind with the idea that if he attempted to govern by himself he could not avoid falling from one fault into another; and that consequently he had far better abandon the cares of the administration to his ministers. This advice he adopted: but as neither solidity, nor consistency, constituted any part of his character, he was continually changing the persons in office; whence arose factions at his court, and revolts in the provinces. Besides the captains and chieftains who took advantage of the general discontent which prevailed among the troops and people to seize the authority in their several districts, there were to the number of five among them who caused themselves to be proclaimed emperors.

The empress Ki, a native of Korea, ruled at court. She had a son named Ayyeushilitata, whose determined spirit refused to submit to the mode of education prescribed to the Chinese princes, which consisted of partaking of the lessons given daily at the palace by the mandarins, and where the emperor's children promiscuously mixed with others. The hereditary prince had no relish for the severe principles delivered by his learned instructors on the cause of the decline and fall of dynasties. He treated their doctrines as obscure and senseless jargon. These impertinent retorts gave offense to the doctors. The empress, on her side, little scrupulous on propriety of conduct, spurned at the rules imposed by decorum. Two courtiers, deservedly unpopular on account of their libertinism, had free access to the palace, where they were seen perpetually. The censors of the empire had the courage to complain of it to the emperor. She prevailed on her feeble spouse to punish them. Vain and enterprising, she wished to see her relatives on the throne of Korea, caused the king to be assassinated, and engaged the too-complying husband to countenance the usurpers. At her solicitation he sent thither an army, which was cut in pieces, and this calamity completed the disasters of the empire.

1336.

While he was attacked on every side, while all

subordination was destroyed among the troops, and the people, reduced to distress by the failure of the harvest, were groaning under the weight of the taxes, a man named Chu appeared on the southern frontiers. It is conjectured that he was brought up as servant in a monastery of bonzes. He joined with the forces at the commencement of the disturbances, became the leader of a band, and associated himself with several captains, whose soldiers uniting formed an army. They appointed him their chieftain, and under his command performed many valourous deeds which ensured them rapid success. Chu announced himself as destined to restore peace to the world, and to render the people happy. He had the address to prevail on his generals, who at first were a band of robbers like himself, to refrain from pillage and massacre; and this generous mode of prosecuting war gained him the affection of the Chinese. He merited also their esteem by esteeming them himself, applying himself with ardour to the study of their laws, and by reposing confidence in them; while the emperor, on the contrary, instigated by his ministers, treated them as suspected subjects, and ordered them to be disarmed. How then could a people oppressed and despised by the Moguls not attach themselves to a conqueror who had been heard to say—"It is the Chinese who should go-

“vern the Tartars, not the Tartars the Chinese?”

Chu, 1364.

The utmost joy was expressed throughout the empire when Chu received the sceptre and title of emperor, which the companions of his fortunes pressed him to assume. On ascending the throne he thus addressed them: “I accept the royalty with the sole intention of rendering the people happy. At the commencement of my reign we must establish good laws, for on that rock the Moguls split. Respecting religious rites and ceremonies, it is my advice that each of us first think seriously of reforming our own hearts. Until this day you have been my dear companions; continue to assist me with your counsels, and never let us lose sight of virtue.” What Chu proposed, he accomplished. He founded the basis of his government on those laws which were in honour under the most esteemed dynasties. The examination of persons of literature, magistrates, and all those invested with a public function, recommenced. He sought out all men of merit, whom he employed according to their genius, in war, navigation, arts, sciences, or mathematics, and recompensed them like a truly magnanimous prince. Never could he be reproached with any extravagant expenditure: he constantly refused admission to whatever might tend to enervate the heart. In the

palace he built at Nanking, his capital, he prohibited any great sums being lavished on costly furniture, or the curiosities of foreign countries, and inflexibly banished thence all indecent statues and paintings. He won the hearts of the mechanics, peasants, and commonalty in general, by familiarly conversing with them on their own concerns: he also took care to indemnify them for their losses, and assist their undertakings. So praise-worthy a conduct not only indicated, but demonstrates a superior genius. Valour, military science, greatness of soul, equity in the distribution of favours and employs, such are the qualities with which history adorns the character of Chu, first emperor of the Tay-ming dynasty.

That of Ywen was abolished in China by the vices of Touhan-Temur. Whatever imputations were most capable of dishonouring a family were propagated of that declining house. Brothers were reported to have poisoned brothers; a son to have forced away his father's wives: that there neither existed religion nor morality in the race; and that the order of succession had been inverted. This assertion particularly regarded Touhan, whom they wished should be considered as the son of the last emperor of the Song, who had become a lama in Tartary. Kublay, said they, being enamoured of the lama's wife, in order to obtain her had adopted her

son, who was Touhan-Temur. This fable, and many others of a similar nature, which are hazarded in time of a revolution, were eagerly received by the people. Chu supported them by continual victories:—a certain mode of stamping credit on the most palpable absurdities. All consideration for the reigning family daily diminished as their means of resistance were destroyed by repeated defeats.

Touhan-Temur seeing his rival approaching his capital, gave orders for removing his effects, had carriages prepared for the conveyance of his family, received the adieu of his subjects as if going a journey, and arrived in safety in Tartary, where he fixed his residence in a town which he converted into another capital. Chu did not pursue him, neither was the serenity of his retreat disturbed by the regrets of the Chinese. He lived two years after that event, and died at the age of fifty-one, having been emperor of China and Tartary thirty-five years, and survived the loss of the former, two. For want of some great action of this prince's to relate, we will terminate our account with a very sensible one of his minister Taying. He had fallen into disgrace; and one of his friends persuaded him to put an end to his existence, probably considering disgrace as an ignominious or insupportable evil. To this advice Taying replied: "I have committed no crime: to kill myself would be

“ to acknowledge myself culpable. Let us leave
 “ the event to the will of Heaven.”

Ayyeushilitata, the son of Touhan-Temur, ^{1370.} who had not endeared himself to the Chinese more than his father, succeeded him in Tartary. He and his successors sustained many sanguinary wars against China, whose inhabitants, notwithstanding the great wall which separated them, still thought the Tartars too near neighbours. The Tartars on the other hand could not look back without regret on the beautiful country from which they had been expelled. This served perpetually to kindle the torch of discord between these two nations, who have never desisted from harassing each other, though during the three last centuries there exist no record of those mutual hostilities which were so injurious to both people. With respect to the fate of the Moguls themselves in Tartary, it is known to have undergone many changes. They are become vassals to the Manchew Tartars, who in their turn have invaded China. Fruitless have been the efforts of the Moguls to shake off the yoke:—they are subjugated.

KALKAS OR KALMUKS.

The third horde of Tartars, called Kalkas, or ^{Kalkas or Kalmuks.} by corruption Kalmuks, has remained independent. For a long series of years it formed an empire, but the inordinate ambition of a man

who called in religion to the support of his pretensions occasioned its dissolution. In all spiritual concerns the Kalkas are obedient to the grand-lama, who from Thibet, where his divinity reposes in a palace of delights, contemplates with a holy satisfaction the veneration paid to his laws throughout the wide extent of mighty empires. That of the Kalkas was one of the finest gems of his crown. His representative, or khutuktu, among them grew weary of being only a deputy god, and aiming to unite the secular authority to his dignity, excited his brother to revolt, and abetted him against the khan, the temporal chief. The latter implored the supremacy of the grand-lama; the pontiff dispatched legates thither, but the khutuktu disputed with them the right of pre-eminence. This schism produced great disorders; the partisans of the khutuktu applied to the Chinese. The superiority of the grand-lama was maintained by the Cluts, another branch of Tartars. In 1696 Kang-hi, emperor of China, had three armies on foot in Tartary; these dispersed the Kalkas, who were in open rebellion against their defenders, and disabled them from forming in future a national body.

ELUTHS.

Eluths.

The event is unknown which separated the Eluths from the Mogul empire, of which they

composed a part ; but in the fifteenth century we find them governed by a khan, or sovereign, of their own nation, not descended from Jenghis Khan, whose posterity reigned over all the other Tartar tribes. One of their khans, named Onchon, being at war with the Ufbek Tartars in the vicinity of Siberia, was attacked with the small-pox in his camp. According to their custom, as soon as the Tartars were assured of the malady they all decamped, and left the khan alone in his tent. In this helpless situation he was found by the enemy, who took so much care of him that he recovered. He lived with them three years, concealing his quality, after which effecting his escape, he arrived in safety on the frontiers of his own dominions, whence he apprized his brother Sengha of his adventure. Sengha, who had not only taken possession of his throne, but likewise espoused his wife, was extremely surprized at tidings which, in the same moment, deprived him of a crown and a woman he loved. He consulted her on this delicate occasion ; she replied, that since her first husband lived, she could not do otherwise than return to him. This decision was a death-stroke to the wretched Sengha, who, instead of ambassadors to introduce the prince into his kingdom, dispatched assassins to murder him.

This crime remained not unpunished. One

of Onchon's brothers, named Kaldan, avenged his death, and was elected khan of the Eluths. He united his forces with those of the Moguls, and sunk with them in the war in which the Chinese, under Kang-hi, so completely triumphed over the Moguls. The havoc among the Eluths was so great, that not more than ten or twelve families remained in those vast countries. By that conquest Khan-hi established his dominion as far as the extensive deserts and forests which form the boundaries of Russia. Some authors relate that Kaldan was slain in battle; others, that believing his affairs in a desperate condition, he swallowed poison. However, Raptan his nephew did not disdain the remains of that wide empire. He even found means by his encouragement of agriculture to render his nation once more flourishing, and his laws respected in Thibet, which he successfully invaded. The Eluths since that period have been dispersed: some of the hordes, pursued by the Chinese, implored the protection of Russia. In 1720 some of them ranged themselves under the sceptre of that power. We are as ignorant at present of the actual transactions of those vast unmeasured regions as of the course of some considerable rivers, which ere they reach the ocean are lost in trifling rivulets.

KIPJAKS.

The sultans of the Kipjaks reigned over those ^{Kipjaks, 1210.} vast countries, and their trunk still at times puts forth verdant branches. Jenghis Khan, satisfied with the conduct of his son Tushi in the war of Karazm, bestowed on him the extensive plains which spread from the Caspian sea to the frontiers of Russia. Besides the kingdoms of Astracan and Cassan, Tushi enclosed Little Tartary within his dominion, and some provinces of Europe, of which he composed an immense empire, which has been either extended or contracted by his successors, as their arms were successful or unfortunate.

Some historians reckon seventeen, others twenty-one of these princes, whose achievements sufficiently prove that they were in general warlike. Burgha the Second, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, reduced the Moscovites and Bulgarians, traversed Russia, ravaged Poland, Moravia, Dalmatia, and was on his march towards Hungary to besiege Constantinople, when death arrested his career. Burgha the Third embraced the mahometan faith, and propagated it throughout his dominions at the end of the thirteenth century, instead of the religion of Jenghis Khan, which was pure deism.

USBEKS.

Usbeks,
1318.

Usbek, the seventh sultan, so powerfully conciliated the affection of his subjects, that, as a public testimony of their esteem, they took his name. Jani Bek, the eighth sultan, invaded Persia, whence he brought four hundred camels' loads of gold and jewels, without noticing other valuables, which he distributed amongst his soldiers. Usbek, the tenth sultan, towards the end of the fourteenth century, formed alliances with his neighbours, then engaged in hostilities, then in alliances again; that is to say, there were continual quarrels and reconciliations between them. The Usbeks of whom we treat are a different people from those inhabiting the vicinity of Russia.

KRIMEA.

Krimea,
1553.

Wars are the law-suits of potentates. Like private persons who are ruined by their gaining a cause, so the conquests of princes are frequently their bane. The Kipjak and Usbek sultans, always at variance with the surrounding nations, insensibly found themselves driven back by the Russians from their ancient domain near the Caspian sea, and shut up in the peninsula of the Krimea, likewise called Little Tartary. The branch which established and perpetuated themselves there bore the surname of Keray; which it still bears.

From 1553 to 1708 they reckon forty sultans of that name, sometimes sovereign princes, sometimes vassals to the Turks, to the Genoese who possessed themselves of that peninsula, and recently to the Russians. The powers who subjected them assumed the title of protectors. There exists at Jamboli, a port of the Crimea, a species of repository of these princes, whence the Ottoman port elects khans to succeed those who have given her umbrage; and here also Russia applies when she thinks it eligible to replace those she deposes. Thus have these precarious sovereigns become, and actually continue, the political sport of these two mighty powers.

We have followed the Tartars, under different denominations, descending from their immense plain, and bending their course towards China and the southern parts of Muscovy, whence they reached the Crimea by the opposite side of the Caspian sea. We shall now find them spreading themselves round that sea into ancient Persia, subduing the Bukharias and the Iraks; founding a new kingdom of Persia; and unfurling their banners in the countries watered by the Ganges and the Indus.

BUKHARIA

Bukharia consists of ancient Bactriana, Sogdiana, and their dependencies. Nature has bestowed with a liberal hand whatever could ren-

Bukharia,
between the
Kalmuks,
Russia, the
great desert,

the states of
Mogul and
Persia.

der this country a desirable habitation: mountains abounding in woods and mines; vallies, in fruits and vegetables; and rivers stored with fish. The grass grows there to five or six feet in height; in fine, it is the most fertile region of all Northern Asia. It is divided into two parts, the Great and the Little. The former is subdivided into three: Bukharia, properly so called; the province of Samarcand; and that of Balk: each of them having its own khan, but one alone sometimes has two, though very rarely three.

Bukhar, in the Mogul language, signifies learned; and Bukharia, the country of the learned; because there was a time in which the sciences were cultivated there with considerable success, and the Moguls both travelled thither themselves and sent their children for instruction.

Bukharia Proper is more ornamented with towns than the other provinces. It is a matter of astonishment that they should have built and continued Bukharia, their capital, on a river whose waters are so pernicious as to engender worms in the legs of the inhabitants, which they are obliged daily to roll on a small stick till they are entirely extracted. If by chance they should break, or the most minute particle of them remain in the leg, death is inevitable. Notwithstanding which they are forbidden to drink any thing but water and mares' milk. Should

any person be found to keep either wine or brandy in his house, or even his breath betray his having tasted them, he would undergo the bastinado. This rigid law is the command of the religious chief, who is more respected at Bukharia than the khan himself, whom he may depose if he please.

The language of Bukharia is that of the Persians, to whom these Tartars were for a long period subjected, but with whom they are at present irreconcilable enemies; for these abominable heretics, unlike them and all the other Tartars, do not shave their upper lip. They have some copper and silver money which passes current, but all considerable sums are paid in gold and silver, which they cut and weigh. Commerce ought to be both extensive and flourishing in this fine country, which is destined by nature to be the grand mart of China, India, Persia, and Russia; but it is shackled in all their cities by the tyranny of the khans and their officers. These do not scruple when they are indebted on the one account, to take on credit on the other; which continued circulation of loans at length reduces the merchants to distress. The robberies committed by the wandering Tartars in the flat country is still more detrimental to commerce, which, notwithstanding these impediments, supports itself by the advantageous situation and the fertility of the soil. The states

of the great Mogul and Persia are supplied from Bukharia with all kinds of dried fruits of the most exquisite flavour.

The greater part of the towns of the province of Samarcand, formerly so flourishing, are either ruined, or in a state of rapid decay. The capital, though much fallen from its ancient splendour, is, however, still famous for the most celebrated academy throughout the mahometan nation, which is also well attended. The province of Balk, being in higher cultivation than the rest, returns the khan a considerable revenue. He watches with the greatest attention over the liberty and prosperity of commerce. His subjects possess mines of rubies, gold, and silver, which they work. Not unfrequently they have only the trouble of gathering up these two valuable metals from the rivers which deposit them in their beds.

Three distinct nations are comprized in great Bukharia: the Bukhars, who are the ancient inhabitants; the Jagatays, or Moguls, who established themselves there under Jagatay, second son of Jenghis Khan; and the Uzbek Tartars, who are its actual possessors. The Bukhars inhabit the cities, for which reason they are denominated Tajiks by the Tartars, which means burghesses or citizens. They are of a good stature, and rather fair for the climate. The generality have large sparkling black eyes; an aquiline nose; a

well-formed countenance; very fine black hair; a bushy beard; in fine, they are quite exempt from the deformity of the Tartars amongst whom they live. The women, for the most part, are tall, and have beautiful features and complexions. The difference between the dress of the two sexes is very inconsiderable: they both wear long robes; but those of the females are always the most ornamented. Their religion is the mahometan. They chiefly subsist by commerce and trade. They never embarrass themselves either with war or politics, but leave those points to the Uzbeks and Kalmuks, contenting themselves with conscientiously paying their taxes, on which account the Tartars despise, and treat them as a simple pusillanimous people. Their origin is unknown: they report themselves to have emigrated from a very distant country. Some authors have conjectured that they are descended from the ten tribes, whom Shalmaneser carried captive into the territories of the Medes. Their physiognomy is thought to bear some resemblance to the Jewish, and a similarity also prevails in their ceremonies.

The Jagatay and Uzbek Tartars are the same people under two denominations. These Bukharian Tartars are in general esteemed the most civilized of the mahometan Tartars, though they are as great robbers as the rest. Their dress

is short, and adapted for exercise; that of the women as well as of the men. Boiled rice and horse-flesh constitute their most delicious viands; and two liquors extracted from mares' milk, their usual beverage. Their language is a mixture of the Turkish, Mogul, and Persian; but approaches nearest to the latter. They have only latterly accustomed themselves to fire-arms. The dart, arrow, and especially the spear, are formidable weapons in their hands. They also wear coats of mail, and make use of a shield to defend themselves from the sabre. The Tartars of Bukharia are the most robust and valiant of all the Tartars. Their wives follow them to the field of slaughter, and undauntedly mix with the combatants. Some of them are extremely well made, pretty, and even beautiful.

The Usbeck horses have neither breast nor crupper, have a long stiff neck, very high legs, and no belly. Almost all of them are shockingly thin, but exceedingly spirited, and almost indefatigable. The most common grass, or even a little moss, will suffice their most pressing occasions. These people are continually engaged in hostilities with the Persians, who are only separated from them by wide tracts, which are favourable to their incursions; but the states of the Great Mogul are more difficult of access, owing to the high mountains which divide them. Those among them whose subsistence depends

on their cattle, live under tents like the Kalmuks, and pitch their camps indiscriminately wherever the herbage they are in want of is most plentiful. Those who till the earth inhabit villages and hamlets.

Little Bukharia is so called, not because it is less than the other, but because it is neither so fertile nor so populous. It is composed of a long chain of mountains rising from sandy deserts, and extending from the country of the Kalmuks to the north-west of China, along the Mogul empire and Thibet, resembling a sea interspersed with rocks and islands. It is easy to conceive that there is no travelling from one habitable spot to another without encountering many difficulties, and risking various dangers, as the Tartars who rove the plains, and the pirates who infest the coasts, are constantly on the watch for plunder. This country produces musk, quantities of gold dust, and precious stones, without excepting diamonds; but the people are ignorant of the art of cutting or polishing them. The rivers which wash down the gold and silver dust lose themselves in the sand. Some parts of these deserts are entirely destitute of verdure and water: others are intersected by tracts of tolerably good ground, which are known to travellers of that country; though by no means so well as to their camels, who scent them from afar, and hasten to arrive there to refresh themselves.

Although the inhabitants of the Lesser Bukharia resemble those of the Greater, still there are shades distinguishing them deserving notice. They are of a darker hue, probably from the reflected heat of the sandy deserts. They are more addicted to commerce; and also more skilful in it. Their dress likewise is longer. The women wear more ornaments, and dye their nails red. Their furniture is very far from sumptuous. Trunks plated with iron are ranged along the walls, on which, during the day, the mattresses are placed, which are their bed at night. They strip themselves to go to rest: they neither use tables, chairs, knives, nor forks; but put their dishes on a cloth, which also serves them for a napkin. They invented before us a kind of small cake, composed of minced meat, which will keep, and of which they make very palatable soup in their long journeys. They prepare their tea with milk, salt, and butter; and they are no strangers to bread.

As the Bukharians buy their wives, their daughters are a real treasure. The betrothed couple are forbidden by the law either to speak to or see each other from the signing of the contract to the celebration of the marriage: but whether the interval be long or short is not known. They have another law to the full as ridiculous; the wedded pair must not see each other during the ceremony, which is performed by a priest.

The bridegroom cannot speak to his bride till after dinner, and then only a few minutes. He quits her, returns at night, finds her in bed, and lies down by her in his clothes in the presence of the other women. This farce is renewed for three days; but the third night he passes with her entirely. During forty days after childbirth a woman is considered as so impure, that she is denied the privilege of saying her prayers. Polygamy is accounted a sin; but it is not the less committed by the greater part of the nation. Some men have six wives and upwards.

The occupation of a physician in this country is, to read a sentence from some books to the patient, to breathe on him several times, and wave a very sharp-edged knife across his face to cut the root of the disorder. If he dies, the Koran is placed on his breast, which custom proves mahometanism to be the predominant religion. The Kalmuks, however, though plunged, according to historians, in the grossest idolatry, allow the greatest toleration in matters of religion. The Bukhars say, that God first communicated the Koran to mankind by the ministry of Moses and the prophets; and that it was afterwards explained by Mahomet. They have an uncommon veneration for Jesus Christ, whom they regard as a great prophet. They believe him to have been born of the Virgin Mary, untainted by any mortal commerce; but of the

birth and infancy both of the mother and child they relate a multitude of improbable fables. When the Virgin carried the new-born infant to her relations, they loaded her with reproaches: she intreated the child to justify her, and he successfully pleaded his mother's cause. Jesus, according to their tradition, was exposed to persecution, and pursued by assassins. God rendered him invisible, and punished these miscreants by giving them successively the appearance of the prophet. His enemies, who were harassing him, deceived by the resemblance, fell on them and killed them.

The Bukhars believe in the resurrection, and a future existence; but they cannot be persuaded that any mortal shall be eternally damned; on the contrary, they argue, that as the devil was the author of sin, so the punishment will fall on him. Morally speaking, it certainly would be but just that the wicked should have their share, if it were but to intimidate them in this world. They suppose different degrees of pleasure and torture in heaven and hell, and consign to the bottomless pit all liars, deceivers, and incendiaries. They say that one elect will be chosen out of an hundred men, and one out of a thousand women. They consider it sinful to say that God is in heaven; since he is every-where, and it is dishonouring his omnipresence to imagine him confined to any particular spot. Five hours in the

day are appointed for prayers, and they observe a month's fast, extremely severe during the day, but which is relaxed at night, when they are allowed to eat and drink.

Twenty-five princes descended from Jenghis Khan, by Jagatay his eldest son, have reigned in Great Bukharia. Their empire continued during a series of an hundred and seventy years, and terminated in the second year of the fifteenth century, owing to the dissensions amongst relations, whose ambition was active in expelling each other from the throne. The last sovereign was only a nominal prince, who commanded some battalions of troops in the army of Tamerlane. The khans of Little Bukharia were also the descendants of Jenghis Khan, by the same Jagatay, but the direct line was not unfrequently interrupted. At the beginning of the fourteenth century it even was almost effaced. It continued to re-appear at intervals, until the fifth year of the seventeenth. It probably may still exist, but it is thought to be extinct.

The conversion of Togalak, the first among these princes who embraced mahometism, is attended with remarkable events. Being hunting, he met a mahometan trader, whom he treated most brutally. The good mussulman's patience affected the prince, who promised to embrace a religion capable of inspiring so much virtue; but this resolution was soon forgotten. Fruitless were

the mussulman apostle's endeavours to remind him of his word, he was debarred from gaining access to the prince as well as his son, whom he exhorted to effect that good deed with his dying breath. The attempts of the latter to enter the palace being always frustrated, he adopted the expedient of ascending a neighbouring acclivity, and there repeating his morning prayers, which he did in so very audible a voice as to wake Togalak, who sent for the zealot to demand the reason of his violent ejaculations. To recollect his promise to be converted, was the affair of a moment. His courtiers followed his example, except one, who, however, agreed to comply on one condition. "We have here," said he, "a Mogul of extraordinary strength, if the mahometan will wrestle with him, and can overthrow him, I will embrace his religion." The missionary accepted the challenge; and being apparently as well gifted with sinews as lungs, on the first onset extended the Mogul on the earth, where he continued for some time senseless. The efficacy of this instruction instantly converted both the Tartar and his champion.

IRAN.

Iran between
Ghilan and
Turkestan.

The account on which we are entering of the sovereigns of Iran, is also appropriate to those who reigned in Bukharia. These two countries were the scenes of action of those celebrated

warriors Jenghis Khan, Tamerlane, and their posterity. Iran is denominated by the Asiatics the two Iraks, viz. the Arabian or Babylonian, and the Persian. We will describe it under the same names. That of which we shall more immediately treat at present is the latter, of which Ispahan is the capital. Modern Persia, or the Persia of the Sophis, we will next consider; and to prevent the neglect of any thing which might tend to elucidate the history of the Tartars and their neighbours we will glance on the empire of the Persian Gulf, the Turkomans, and the Great Usbeks, before we enter on India.

From the death of Jenghis Khan, in 1227, ^{Hulaku.} Iran was governed by captains sent thither by his successors, till the year 1251; when Mengko, the fourth Mogul khan, entrusted that province to Hulaku, his brother. He cleared it of the Ismaelians, that nation of assassins, who made even kings to tremble on their throne, extended his authority into Iconia, took Bagdad, and captured the caliph, and possessed himself of Aleppo, Mousul, Damascus, and part of Syria. All these conquests were effected in the short space of six years. He is accounted the head of the dynasty of Mogul princes in Persia, though it certainly ought to be traced back to Jenghis Khan, from whom he was descended.

Abaka his son was attacked by Barkah, khan ^{Abaka,} of Bukharia, a descendant, as well as himself, of ¹²⁶⁵⁻

Jenghis Khan, and by another branch also of the posterity of Jagatay. Consequently these princes had already rent asunder the ties of consanguinity. Abaka drove out the Mamlucks of Egypt, and penetrated into Syria. He was poisoned by his vizier, whom he had threatened to disgrace.

Ahmed,
1282.

His son Ahmed was chosen for his successor by the grandees of the nation; but he lost their esteem by embracing mahometism, for which the Moguls, at that period, expressed a rooted aversion. Argun, his nephew, thought that a favourable moment to aspire to the throne; he was taken prisoner by his uncle, who sentenced him to suffer death, and withdrew during the execution of his orders; but the malcontents delivered the nephew, placed him at their head, followed Ahmed, who was quite unsuspecting of their intention, fell upon him, and killed him.

Argun,
1284.

Raised to the throne because of his detestation of mahometism, Argun's hatred for that religion was sufficient to inspire its enthusiasts with fears lest he should abolish it. For that purpose he dismissed an able vizier who favoured it, and gave all his confidence to a Jewish physician; but when, aided by his minister, he was meditating the annihilation of islamism, Providence, according to the Mussulmen, who is constantly watching over its preservation, invoked by the

prayers of the faithful, prevented its destruction. Argun fell ill, and before he died his Jewish counsellor was assassinated.

Ganjatu, the son of Abaka, was appointed to succeed him. His name, in the Mogul tongue, signifies wondrously shining. He was very vigilant in the administration of justice, but greatly dishonoured himself by his libertinism. Several noblemen, whose daughters he had forced away, conspired against him, and massacred him. Other authors relate that he was slain, because he attempted to introduce paper money into Persia. Ganjatu,
1291.

Baydu his uncle reigned only eight months. He is suspected of having been an accomplice in the murder of Ganjatu. A son of Argun, named Gazan, thought it incumbent on him to avenge Ganjatu, or rather imagined it a good pretext to usurp the sovereignty. The two rivals agreed to the pacificatory measures proposed by the nobles. They had a meeting, in which each imbibed suspicions to the other's prejudice; and from that time they spread snares for the ruin of each other, into which Baydu, being the most feeble, fell. Baydu,
1292.

Gazan having quitted Khorassan, where he reigned in tranquillity, to assume the throne, Persia was much harassed by some of his relatives, who were ambitious to sway the Persian sceptre as well as himself. Their desires were Gazan,
1294.

repressed by Neuruz the emir, whom to recompense for his fidelity, on very ill-supported suspicions, Gazan put to death. This prince successfully attacked Syria; but he had no sooner quitted it than the Mogul garrisons were all massacred. He governed with tolerable wisdom and equity, but this did not protect him from assassination in the eleventh year of his reign.

Aljaptu,
1303.

Whether he left any sons is not known, but it is certain that Aljaptu his successor was not his son. He also was in possession of Khorassan, and endeavoured to reconquer Syria; but his efforts were unavailing. He was attacked by the Turks, whom he repulsed. The city of Sultania owes its origin to Aljaptu, who made it his residence. He, of all the princes of Jenghis Khan's race, was the most distinguished for his love of justice and religion, which he rendered flourishing throughout his dominions, although he was but twenty-three years of age when he ascended the throne. He reigned twelve.

Abusaid,
1318.

The reign of Abusaid his son was disturbed by the intrigues of love and court cabals. His father had two viziers or ministers, who were both very intelligent men. The son continued them in their post; but wanted either the authority or address to maintain a friendly correspondence between them. One of them sup-

planted the other, by the aid of Juban, the general in chief of the army, whom he had persuaded to espouse his cause, and these two men became the masters; but the vizier dying, all the authority devolved to Juban, who was a very great warrior. To attach him still more to his interest, the sultan gave him his own sister in marriage.

Juban had a daughter of extraordinary beauty, named Khatun. Whether it were that the sultan was unacquainted with her, or whether from caprice, is not known; but, in fact, he was not enamoured of her till she was married to a nobleman named Hassan. Abusaid, hurried away by his passion, demanded her of her father, by a right founded on the Mogul law, which obliged every individual to repudiate his wife if the sultan wished to espouse her. The father refused his consent to the divorce; and removed his daughter and son-in-law to a distance from the court. The irritated prince expressed his indignation in terms which could not fail to alarm the general, who withdrew into Khorassan, where he was much beloved, and levied an army. Notwithstanding his martial prowess, the war was unsuccessful; for though it began in victory, the troops were soon gained over by the sovereign's emissaries, and abandoned the general. He took refuge with a man who formerly had been his pupil, and who owed him various obliga-

tions; but the pupil, too venal to withstand the dazzling offers of Abufaid, caused his tutor to be assassinated, and sent his head to the sultan.

When he went to receive the promised reward, he was extremely surprized to find that Hassan had given up his wife to the sultan, and that she, whose father he had just murdered, enjoyed an unbounded power over her new spouse. However, he advanced, but was received with mortifying coldness; and had reason to deem himself very fortunate that he was suffered to depart, frustrated only in his hopes of reward. The great authority possessed by Khatun made her enemies, who instilled jealousy into the prince's mind, by persuading him that she had secret assignations with her first husband. If she were unable to convince him, at least she had the art of appeasing him, which every woman knows how to employ on a similar occasion: but jealousy once more resumed its sway; and to prevent her falling a victim to its baneful influence, she gave him poison. He expired in his thirty-second year of his age, and nineteenth of his reign.

2337.

Abufaid, too young to govern, and too much the slave of his own passions, and those of his nobles, ministers, and generals, left the empire a prey to disturbances. The Moguls no longer recognized the race of Jenghis Khan. The nobles fortified themselves in the different

provinces which they plundered, and took up arms against each other. Of this number were the Ilkanian, descended from Hulaku, a former sultan; and the Jubanian, from the unfortunate general Juban. The first reigned seventy-six years over Arabian Irak, and a part of Azerbejan, and the second only twenty, in the other part and in Persian Irak. All these petty sovereignties were swallowed up in that of Tamerlane.

Timur Bek, better known by the name of ^{Tamerlane,} Tamerlane, was born in the midst of the ^{1359.} troubles which desolated Persia. He had attained his twenty-fifth year when he lost Tragai his father, one of the chieftains, who after the death of Abusaid had taken possession of a portion of that empire. To save his usurped power, he was obliged to form an alliance with the neighbouring chiefs, the most powerful of whom was the emir Hufsayn. They both encountered extreme dangers in the wars they were compelled to wage. Timur valiantly exposed his person in every formidable engagement; he was as well acquainted with the art of commanding as fighting; he experienced whatever is called the fortune of arms: he was a conqueror, defeated, made prisoner, released, wounded, fleeing almost alone through deserts, re-appearing accompanied by a few vagabond troops, augmenting his forces, received in the great cities, sometimes on friendly terms with Hufsayn, at others at

variance with him; but at length he was more powerful than his colleague, whose jealousy, avarice, and bad qualities, estranged the affection both of his troops and generals, while Timur's valour, affability, and justice, captivated every heart.

Their empire was extended, notwithstanding the contrariety of their dispositions; but Timur had the modesty to take only a secondary rank in their common interest, with respect to the general administration of those states they had added to their primary possessions. Hussayn was not even then satisfied with the authority which Timur had ceded to him. He spread snares for him, attempted to surprize him; and, in short, adopted such unjustifiable conduct, that Timur, obliged to defend himself, declared war against him. These hostilities were very unfavourable to Hussayn; all the princes, as well tributary as dependent, ranged themselves on the side of Timur. He besieged his rival in the city of Balk, whither he had retired, and took him prisoner. On his being led into his presence, the recollection of their ancient friendship drew tears from his eyes. He was desired to pronounce his doom; but he only replied, "I renounce the right that I have to deprive him of life." The emirs or nobles perceiving how much Timur was affected, and fearing Hussayn's resentment should his life be spared,

determined not to consider the emperor's renunciation of his power as a pardon to the captured prince, but followed the prisoner out when he withdrew, and killed him. Thus Timur found himself alone at the head of a vast empire, which he afterwards augmented by victories that have entitled him to a place among the most illustrious conquerors, under the appellation of Tamerlane.

It is not easy to decide whether the wars sustained by Tamerlane on his accession against several princes who refused to submit, or attempted to free themselves from his yoke, ought to be considered as revolts or not. His conduct towards them seems to shew that he did not regard them in that light; since he treated these petty sovereigns, not as rebels, but as princes who were defeated in their lawful defense. There are examples of his extending his pardon toward them two or three times, inviting them to court, and even engaging them to remain there by presents, employments, and dignities. On the contrary, he behaved with a degree of severity approaching to barbarity, towards those of his natural subjects who had taken up arms, and made an obstinate resistance on the instigation of their emirs. It is difficult to discover the motive of this unjust conduct, unless it were to inspire the people with hatred and contempt for these princes, who not only were incapable of delivering

1369.

them from the danger to which they had been exposed, but even derived some advantages from their misfortunes. How is it that mankind do not join in refusing to fight?

What torrents of blood did not the ambition of Tamerlane shed! Tamerlane who said—"that it was neither consistent nor proper that the earth should be governed by two monarchs." His first expedition after his being acknowledged emperor was against the Getes, the second against Khorassan. The people of these countries, being all a martial race, were not an easy conquest. Several times he returned to the charge, but at length subdued them, and the difficulties he had surmounted heightened his glory and power. His court became that of a sovereign superior to every other; his officers bore the titles of khans, or sultans, which are equivalent to that of king, and our most eminent dignities. He was surrounded with emirs, civil and military officers, and scheiks descended from Mahomet, men who were extremely revered, and who applied themselves to the study of the sciences, and professed the most rigid principles of religion.

1381.

Tamerlane had fixed his residence at Samarcand, but he enlarged and embellished another city called Kesh, which also had a seminary for the sciences, and enriched it with the ornaments he had found in the capital of the Getes.

Even the gates, curiously wrought, and covered with remarkable inscriptions, he removed to his new-built town. He likewise transported thither the united treasures of the kings of Guris, consisting of gold and silver coin, both rough and polished precious stones, magnificent thrones, golden crowns, table utensils, gold and silver brocades, and a variety of other valuable effects; the accumulated wealth of ages. A tax also, under the form of ransom, was levied on the inhabitants, more fortunate than the Getes, who had dared to oppose the conqueror's arms. He made there upwards of two thousand prisoners, who were, by his command, piled upon one another with bricks and mortar to construct towers. This most horrible species of cruelty was not unfrequently practised by Tamerlane.

These atrocities are astonishing in a man who was not destitute of sensibility; but he probably, like many other persons, though not princes, might be devoid of feeling except in his personal afflictions. For example, at the death of his son Jehanghir, and of two of his wives, he experienced so great a shock as reduced him to a kind of stupor. He shut himself up in his palace, abandoned himself to tears and lamentations, neglectful of all state affairs, and dedicating his whole time to prayers. At length, listening to the representations of his ministers, he once more resumed his usual occupations.

“ Convinced,” said he, “ that one single hour
“ devoted by the sovereign to the administra-
“ tion of justice is of greater utility and im-
“ portance than all the worship he could offer
“ the Deity, and the prayers he could address
“ to him during the remainder of his life.”

1337.

It would be too fatiguing to follow him in all his conquests through Persia, Armenia, Georgia, into Turkestan, Karazm, the territory of the Kipjaks, the Turkmans, to the gates of Astrabad, Tauris, and numerous other cities which he took either by capitulation or storm ; the latter rarely obtained mercy. To shame these ferocious conquerors, to prevent a repetition of similar horrors if possible, the dreadful fate of Ispahan, the capital of Persia, which had rebelled, ought to be particularized. Tamerlane issued a mandate, ordering the massacre of all the inhabitants, except those who had saved the lives of some of his soldiers. To insure the execution of his sanguinary commands, each company was obliged to furnish a stated number of heads. The troops bought them of each other to complete their contingent. So little mercy was shewn the wretched people, that at last they were sold at the vilest price. According to the register of the divan, they amounted to seventy thousand, and were employed in the building of towers in various parts of the city.

From Ispahan, Tamerlane carried his victo-

rious arms into Russia, crossed the great rivers Volga, Yaik, and Oby, penetrated into the northern parts of Muscovy, beheld the frozen ocean, conducted his forces through unmeasured regions, where during the course of months they traced not the foot of man. He subdued the most important places of those countries, such as Astracan, Tobolsk, Moscow, and treated those that valiantly defended themselves nearly the same as he had done Ispahan. He dispatched an army against the Kurdes, a wandering nation who subsisted by plunder; but with what had he to reproach them? he, who had plundered Asia, and even continued to harass its inhabitants in their native deserts? It must be confessed, however, that if he gathered laurels in these expeditions, they were the just reward of his skill, his cares, his laborious life, his courage; neither would he pardon the smallest appearance of pusillanimity. As a chastisement to one of his captains for having lost an inconsiderable advantage, after severely reprimanding him, he ordered his beard to be shaved, his face painted with ceruse and vermilion, and a woman's cap to be put on his head. In this disguise he was compelled to run through the town barefooted.

On the other hand, he magnificently recompensed his brave adherents. He took great delight in seeing his army recreating themselves in games and festivals, for whole days together,

after victory. He then would reward his generals with vests of honour and jewels, warmly interest himself in their happiness, be present at their weddings, and in any prosperity attendant on himself, receive their felicitations with marks of real sensibility. On his sister's congratulating him on the birth of a grand-son he gave a splendid feast. The tents occupied a space of six miles; his pavilion, placed beneath a canopy supported by forty columns, was as spacious as a palace. When all was prepared, the emperor advanced, with the crown encircling his brow and the sceptre in his hand, and seated himself on a throne raised in the middle of his tent, ornamented with precious stones. A great number of the most beautiful females of Asia, shaded with veils of gold brocade studded with jewels, filled the two sides of the throne. The musicians occupied two rows; nine stewards, holding golden maces, preceded the course, and were followed by cupbearers, holding decanters containing red wine, white wine, wine of Shiras, Mazanderan, Kofrwan, and brandy as clear as rock water. The multitude of lovely women, whose braided hair reached the ground, gave additional lustre to the assembly. The festival ended with shews and dances. This may, in some degree, convey an idea of Asiatic magnificence and galantry.

There is also on record the description of two

palaces built by Tamerlane. One was erected near Samarcand. It was the work of the most skilful architects of Persia and Bagdad. The four corners had each a pavilion; the walls were in fresco; and the paintings equalled the productions of the first masters. The court was paved with marble; the bottom of the walls, both without and within, were lined with porcelain. The other palace, at a greater distance from the capital, was situated in a fine plain. He called it, *the Garden that delighteth the Heart*, and added to this name that of a favourite sultana. It was in form of a regular square, in the centre of each side of which was a door. The edifice consisted of three stories erected on arches; the ceilings were ornamented with flowered mosaic work, and the walls with porcelain. Whatever could charm the sight was collected to embellish it; beauty and durability were united, and a marble colonade gave it an air of grandeur. The garden was laid out with the greatest symmetry into squares for flowers and fruit-trees; the alleys were planted with sycamores and various kinds of trees; and each of the four corners were adorned with a pavilion, incrustated with the most beautiful porcelain, arranged with an admirable degree of art.

That Tamerlane did not fix his residence in these charming abodes, can only be ascribed to the pleasures he found in the bustle of a march; and

din of arms, by long use, became his prevailing passion. From the northern regions of Asia, his insatiable thirst for conquest brought him back to the south, to the propitious countries washed by the Indus and the Ganges. It was his fanatical zeal for mahometanism that excited him to this enterprize. This prince was extremely devout; historians observe, that in his journies if there was, though out of his road, the tomb of a revered saint, he never failed to turn aside to visit it. But on no occasion did he betray so great a degree of the proselytism which gives birth to cruelty as in the war of Hindostan, and that of Georgia which followed it.

He had already formed a resolution to carry his arms into China, and extirpate the infidels. Unfortunately for the Indians, some of his generals penetrated into their territory. No sooner had the news reached Tamerlane, than it inflamed his zeal; he determined to partake of the glory of the *gazi*, that is to say, the holy war, and resolved to march thither in person; for though mahometanism was professed at Dehli, and in other cities of that empire, the greater part was inhabited by the ghebrs, worshippers of fire, whom the mahometans considered as idolaters. As soon as the latter found themselves supported by so powerful a protector, they complained of the hardships inflicted on them by the ghebrs, the most peaceful and

least intolerant people on the earth. Without further examination, Tamerlane fell on these pretended persecutors, made an astonishing massacre, pursued them, some into their cities, and others into the caverns of the mountains. Those in the cities every-where experienced a most cruel fate: they were torn from their habitations, abandoned to a brutal soldiery, and sold into slavery. One of these cities offered to ransom with money the lives of its inhabitants; but while they were disputing concerning the sum, Tamerlane's troops entered through the breach sword in hand. The dispersed ghebrs themselves set fire to their houses, threw their wealth, their wives, and children, into the flames, and perished to the last man, bravely defending themselves on the smoking ruins. The inhabitants of the caverns, who thought themselves inaccessible, were astonished to see wooden trunks suspended to iron chains at the entrance of their subterraneous retreats, pouring forth fierce soldiers, who pursued them into the darksome confines of their caves with dreadful carnage.

Thus it was rather a chase than a war, until the main body of the armies were in sight of each other. That of the Indians, commanded by sultan Mahmud Khan, emperor of India, was attended by several kings, his allies and vassals, who had joined him with the bravest of their

troops. Previous to the battle, Tamerlane was told that his camp was filled with prisoners, chiefly ghebrs and idolaters, who during the engagement might perhaps escape to the enemy. "Let them be put to death," exclaimed the tyrant; and in less than an hour upwards of a hundred thousand of these wretched victims were massacred. After this horrid prelude the two armies engaged with a degree of fury worthy of people who, on the one side, fought for the defense of their gods, their wives, their children; on the other, for the glory of a religion which promised ineffable rewards to its martyrs slain in battle. The fanatics prevailed, but not till the resistance of their valiant adversaries had greatly thinned the army of the conquerors. Mahmud and his generals fled, and abandoned their unhappy country to the mercy of these unrelenting banditti, as a torrent whose course it is impossible to divert is suffered to roll on its impetuous devastating waves.

Delhi, the capital, was taken and demolished. Many other considerable cities experienced the same fate. No mercy was ever extended to the ghebrs, who, wherever they were found, were massacred. There is no exaggeration in asserting, that millions perished in this bloody war. The only privilege granted to the mahometans was being reduced to slavery. It is scarcely possible to conceive the prodigious

booty the troops of Tamerlane made in this expedition, which was one uninterrupted scene of plunder and devastation. Every soldier was loaded with diamonds and jewels, the rich spoils of the richest country in the world; and dragged in his train a multitude of slaves, of which the meanest in the ranks claimed some scores. These facts would be thought incredible, were they not attested by cotemporary historians who had ocular proof themselves, or at least related the events from the accounts of those who had been witnesses to them. They mention that previous to the battle which decided the fate of India, Tamerlane ascended the top of a mountain, and raising his hands to heaven, prayed fervently to God and his prophet to grant him the victory. The astrologers were not agreed on the moment most favourable to lead on the attack, and some of them wished to delay it. He thus addressed them: "Happiness
" or misery do not depend on the influence of
" the planets, but on the will of the Creator of
" the universe. For my part, when once I have
" arranged my plan, and taken every necessary
" precaution, I would not defer the execution
" of my project a single minute, to wait for a
" more fortunate crisis." However, either to satisfy his own devotion or to animate his troops, he opened the Koran, and fell by chance, or intention, on a verse which promised him

a complete victory, and he took good care to spread these hopes through his army.

The use Tamerlane intended to make of this great conquest is uncertain; whether he would have fixed his residence there, or have appointed governors in his name, or have been satisfied with the emperor, now become his vassal, acknowledging him his superior lord; or, in fine, whether, his gazi, or holy war, being terminated, and his religious massacres ended, he might not have judged it prudent, loaded with wealth, to abandon a territory which, when recovered from its momentary stupor, might plunge him into considerable difficulties. But all these suppositions and doubts vanish, since we are told that the disturbances which arose in Persia obliged him to return thither. His presence alone was sufficient to quell the commotion. This insurrection was occasioned by the death of his son, to whom he had confided the government of Iran. This prince had met with an accident which had deranged his senses, and his lunacy was augmented by the society he frequented of libertine courtiers, musicians, dancers, and persons of disorderly lives, who took advantage of his infirmity to plunge him into debauchery and increase his malady. Tamerlane caused them all to be hanged, without excepting the persons of distinction, or even a much-admired poet, not only esteemed for the harmony of his versi-

fication, but for his science, and the charms of his conversation :—a proper lesson for those who make an unworthy use of their talents to ingratiate themselves with princes.

Immediately after the gazi of India, he undertook another equally meritorious in Georgia. In that place there was no distinction to be made, as in the territory of the ghebrs: they were all christians, consequently proper victims to immolate at the shrine of Mahomet. Tamerlane attacked them with his usual impetuosity. His soldiery scoured the rocks and caverns of Georgia in chase of the christians, as had they had already hunted down the ghebrs, and with the same success. Wherever they penetrated, the churches were demolished, and the persevering priests and christians massacred. The whole territory of Georgia would have been bowed to the yoke, had not a quarrel, rather of pique than interest, made Tamerlane turn his banners against Bajazet emperor of the Turks.

1398

These two princes, rivals for glory, burned with a desire to measure their strength. Bajazet threw the gauntlet, which Tamerlane took up, with pleasure; but ere he commenced hostilities, he entered Syria, entirely subdued it, destroyed Damascus, and advanced to Bagdad, of which he made himself master. The soldiers were commanded to bring each of them a head, and they obeyed the mandate but too punctually. Towers of human skulls were then con-

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structed in that place, as there had already been in divers others. At one time the merciless conqueror precipitated four thousand soldiers, together with their horses, into the moat of a city he had taken, who were all buried alive. The people of Anatolia, alarmed, not without reason, at these atrocious deeds, conjured Bajazet not to expose them to the fury of this scourge. He suffered himself to be prevailed on by their intreaties, and wrote a letter of excuse; but this did not satisfy the haughty Tartar, neither were his propositions agreeable to the Turkish emperor. Each therefore prepared for battle. Bajazet was taken prisoner, and treated with great respect. He died in his captivity, and Tamerlane enriched his troops with the plunder of Anatolia, as its inhabitants had apprehended. Thence he menaced the Egyptian monarch, who dispatched ambassadors with terms of submission, which contented him, and he returned into Georgia.

The king, whose name was Malek, made promises which the departure of Tamerlane induced him to defer complying with. He probably might have flattered himself that he was freed from him, when he learned that the Tartar was once more ravaging his dominions with fire and sword. Malek sent to supplicate him to suspend hostilities, and to say, that fear alone prevented him from presenting himself before him; and that as soon as he should be re-assured

he would not fail of attending like a prince and some nobles whom he cited, to throw himself at the foot of his throne, and take the oath of fidelity and obedience. Tamerlane replied: "Your master's case, who is a christian, has no similarity with that of the princes he mentions, who are mahometans; because their religion pleads for them. Tell him, if he means to live, he must immediately repair to my court. Should God refuse him the grace of embracing the mahometan faith, I will impose a tribute on him, leave him the government of his territories, and I will not molest the inhabitants. The emperor of Constantinople, being a christian, is on those terms with me."

Malek betrayed no extraordinary haste in complying with these hard conditions. The fanatic Tartar began his gazi with his customary barbarity. The king then sent to offer to relinquish all his treasures, to pay an annual subsidy, and to furnish troops. The emirs conjured the emperor on their knees to accept these submissions. His ardour for the prosecution of the gazi appearing unabated, they intreated him to abide by the decision of the doctors of the law and the muftis. These declared, that since the Georgians consented to become tributary, and promised never to injure the mussulmen, the law required that quarter should be granted them, and that all pillage and massacre should cease.

On hearing this judgment, Tamerlane gave a favourable motion of the head, and the peace was ratified.

Had it not been for his bigotted zeal for religion, and the persuasion, which has deceived many other princes, that whatever was undertaken for its glory, even when prosecuted with cruelty, and accompanied with pillage and massacre, would insure him the pardon of all his sins, Tamerlane might have been a truly estimable prince; particularly when he had renounced the illusions of ambition. These commendable inclinations are apparent in a discourse he addressed to his council. "Until now," said he, "my whole
"ambition has been to make conquests, and
"extend the limits of my vast empire; but
"henceforth I will adopt the resolution to apply myself solely to secure the peace and prosperity of my subjects, and render my dominions flourishing. Individuals shall address
"their requests and complaints to me in person:
"let them counsel me for the good of the musulmen, for the glory of the faith, and for the
"extirpation of the wicked and disturbers of
"the public peace. The oppressed shall not
"at the day of judgment demand vengeance on
"me; neither shall my brave soldiers, who so
"repeatedly have exposed their lives in my service, have reason to complain of me, nor of
"fortune. Their sorrows affect me more than

“ they do themselves. My subjects must not fear
“ to address their petitions to me; for my inten-
“ tion is, that the world should be converted into
“ a paradise under my reign; and I know, that
“ when a monarch is just and merciful, his
“ kingdom is crowned with blessings and glory.
“ In fine, I am determined to amass a treasure
“ of justice, that my soul may enjoy happiness
“ after death.”

We have thought it improper to abridge this discourse, because it paints a noble soul. This prince talked familiarly of the duties of his station; a proof that he took delight in fulfilling them. He was even scrupulously exact in discharging them, which rendered him desirous of distinguishing the difference between the precepts of obligation and those of mere advice. In a discussion of this nature one day, he fell on these words of Mahomet: “ God prescribes justice and beneficence to kings.” “ Why then,” said he to his doctors, “ do you not warn me of what I ought to avoid?” They replied: “ Your highness stands not in need of our counsels; on the contrary, we may profit by imitating your example.” “ I do not approve,” answered the emperor, “ such compliments: they have too much the appearance of flattery. My intention in interrogating you is to gain instruction, and I ex-

“pect that you will inform me of abuses, that
“ I may be able to reform them.”

One of these doctors whom he sent into the provinces to examine into the state of things, and send him an account, thought proper to raise an enormous sum from the inhabitants of a city, under the pretext of presenting it to the emperor. He was made acquainted with it; and though the doctor was on terms of familiarity with him, and one of the chief noblemen in the kingdom, he sentenced him to have his hands chained, and his neck thrust into a pitch-fork, and in this state sent him into the city with the money he had purloined. On the Friday, the day appointed for public prayers, the culprit appeared in the great mosque, tied to the preacher's pulpit, while the person who guarded him returned to the inhabitants, from the emperor, the sum which had been extorted from them. The doctor was then re-conducted to Samarcand, where his steward, the accomplice, and probably the instigator, of his exaction, was hanged in his sight.

One cannot forbear regretting that religious fanaticism should have seduced into error a man who was formed to correct the faults of mankind. It was undoubtedly with sincerity, and as a meritorious act, that he determined to prosecute a new war. He announced his intentions.

to his council in the following terms: " My dear
" companions, as my extraordinary conquests
" have not been effected without considerable
" violence, which has unavoidably occasioned the
" destruction of numbers of God's creatures, I am
" resolved to expiate my past crimes by perform-
" ing some good action. I will, therefore, de-
" clare war against the infidels, and exterminate
" the idolaters of China. It is proper that those
" same troops who have assisted me in committing
" these faults, should also become the instru-
" ments of my penitence. I command, then,
" that they prepare to march to China, that
" they may acquire the merit of this holy war,
" by demolishing the temples of idols, and
" erecting mosques in their place."—A singular
mode of expiating cruelties!

Previous to his departure for his meditated conquest, Tamerlane determined to marry his grand-children, and on that occasion gave an entertainment which has been seldom equalled. The whole body of the nobility was invited. The people of Asia crowded thither. There were displayed spectacles and amusements of every kind. Shops were erected, filled with whatever was most rare; and amphitheatres, covered with brocades and Persian carpets, filled with dancers and musicians. Every trader appeared with the attributes of his profession, and in suitable disguises. Butchers were dressed in the skins of

beasts ; and, under a farcical accoutrement, furrers as leopards, lions, tigers, foxes, &c. each aiming at excelling in a different way. The upholsterers as painted callicos ; the cotton workers as a minaret extremely lofty, which might have been taken for a building of bricks ; sadlers as litters ; the fruit-sellers as portable gardens abounding with pistachio nuts, almonds, pomegranates. There was not any animal, not even the elephant, which was not imitated by machinery, moved by springs.

The people were all admitted with order and regularity to the nuptial feast. It is related that the wood of several forests was consumed in dressing the provisions. Along the whole extent of a large plain there were tables covered with viands differently prepared, bottles of wine, and an infinite number of baskets full of fruit. That the joy might be without alloy, Tamerlane issued a proclamation in these terms :
“ This is the season of feasts, of pleasure, and
“ rejoicings. No one is permitted to dispute,
“ or reprimand. Let not the rich exult over
“ the poor, nor the powerful over the weak.
“ Let no one ask his neighbour, why hast thou
“ acted thus.” No mention is made of the costly gifts presented to the wedded pair, and which were loaded with exactness on the camels and elephants, nor of the illuminations, the tilts, and fire-works. The entertainment lasted two

months, after which the guests were dismissed, and the liberty granted during that period revoked. Wine was then prohibited, and every illicit action. The emperor confined himself to his study, and was heard to pronounce these words: "I return thee thanks, Almighty God, for
" all thy favours, that from an inconsiderable
" prince thou hast raised me to be the most
" powerful emperor on earth, by granting me
" such manifold successes and conquests, and
" having made me thy elected servant."

The preparations for the Chinese expedition were immense. An army of twelve hundred thousand men was to be led across dreary deserts, or desolated countries. The cold was so excessive on their departure, that the troops passed the largest rivers on the ice. They could only procure water by digging to the depth of three or four feet. Numbers of the men had their feet, noses, and ears, frozen, or perished on the roads, together with their horses. Tamerlane, whom no obstacle could daunt, encouraged and animated all by his presence. He was obliged to stop through fatigue in a town of small importance not far distant from the frontiers of China. There he fell ill. A raging fever with which he was attacked seemed to threaten his life. He himself had a presentiment of approaching dissolution. Still constantly animated by the hopes inspired by his religion, he thought

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he already heard the voice of the houris calling him to heaven. The dying monarch summoned all his nobles, and those of his family who had accompanied him, round his bed. Seeing them drowned in tears, he said: "Do not weep, but
" pray for me. I hope that God will pardon my
" sins, though they are very numerous. I have
" the consolation of reflecting that I restrained
" the powerful from oppressing the weak.
" Labour all of you for the happiness of the
" people; for at the day of judgment, a rigid
" account will be demanded of those who have
" enjoyed authority." He nominated Pir Mehemed Jehanghir, his grand-son, his universal heir, and his successor in the empire, enjoining the persons present to obey him, and expired while tranquilly pronouncing the form of prayer peculiar to the mussulman—"There is no god
" but God." He was seventy-one years of age, and had reigned thirty-six.

To enter into a long detail of this prince's qualities is needless, as his actions sufficiently speak his character. It is only necessary to remark that he was endowed with an extraordinary degree of judgment, which distinguished him as much in the council as his intrepidity and valour in the field. In all the countries where he carried his arms, he was not satisfied, like the conquerors of antiquity, with some tokens of submission; he required one direct and intire, as

well from the prince as the people. Respecting the administration of his dominions, though he assembled councils after the manner of his predecessors, he did not implicitly abide by their decision, but constantly followed the dictates of his own prudence. Immoveable in his resolves, his policy was at all times to preside at the execution of his plans, to be present everywhere, and expedite every concern in person. His edifices, palaces, mosques, colleges, monasteries, hospitals, cities, bridges, canals, superb roads, pious foundations for the traveller and the sick, would be sufficient to illustrate the reign of several different monarchs.

Although to be acquainted with the exterior of princes is of little consequence, the one of whom we treat is so interesting, that some account of his person may be acceptable. Tamerlane was corpulent and robust, of an advantageous height, and well made. He had a high forehead, large head, and engaging air; a ruddy fair complexion, a long beard, broad shoulders, thick fingers, and long legs. He was lame both in his right hand and foot, from his wounds. His eyes, though not brilliant, were full of fire. His voice was loud and piercing. Even in old age he retained a sound mind, a strong body, a great share of firmness, and an unshaken constancy. He was an enemy to mirth and jesting. He loved the truth without disguise, even though it

were to his disadvantage. The motto of his seal was : " I am simple and sincere." His equality of soul was undisturbed either in prosperity or misfortune.

Active and vigilant, he penetrated into the most concealed intrigues, discovered the most refined artifice ; and the superiority of his genius enabled him to trace events from their causes : a degree of sagacity which he sometimes employed to give him the appearance of a prophet. He loved reading, particularly history. Every night before he retired to rest, he always conversed with men of literature, that he might improve by their instructions. His memory was uncommonly retentive. When he arrived in places through which he had before passed, he amused himself with asking questions concerning such and such persons ; how had such an affair terminated, or such a dispute ; so that a spectator might have thought he had no momentous concerns to employ him. He never entrusted his secret to any person. He frequently concerted his measures in full council, all the generals were informed of the result, the army was put into motion, and in the instant of departure counter-orders arrived, changing the whole plan of operation.

One of the most remarkable traits of this extraordinary man was his conviction of his own insufficiency, and his firm persuasion, so rarely found in the children of prosperity, of his

being nothing of himself, but indebted for all his greatness to Providence. He once made an avowal of that nature which affected, even to tears, all those who heard it. His troops were besieging a fortress while he was confined with a fever; but being unable to tranquillize his mind unless he saw the state of things, he caused himself to be carried to the entrance of his tent, which was situated on an acclivity. He was supported by two persons; but being extremely languid, he requested to be laid on the ground. In this helpless situation, he said to one of those who assisted him: "Consider my weakness, and
" how changed I am. I have neither hands to
" act, nor feet to walk. If I were attacked, I
" should be incapable of resistance. If I were
" abandoned in my present feeble state, I should
" be taken as in a snare unable to defend my-
" self, or to avert the impending evils that
" threatened me. Notwithstanding, thou seest
" that the Almighty has subjected nations to
" my sway, that he has opened for me inaccessi-
" ble places, filled the earth with the terror of
" my name, and has made kings and princes
" fall before me. Can such signal victories
" proceed from any one but God? What am I,
" but a poor wretched being, possessing neither
" power nor talents proportioned to my achieve-
" ments?"

Tamerlane was of the same tribe as Jenghis

Khan. He always expressed the greatest veneration for that conqueror. In all judicial causes, the following formula was employed during his reign : " By virtue of the laws of Jenghis Khan." Tamerlane is not thought to have instituted any new ones for his vast dominions. Religious as he was, he undoubtedly believed the Koran sufficient for every purpose. In fine, history proves that it is not the multiplying of laws that conduces to the people's happiness, but the exact observance of those that exist. On all occasions this prince might serve as a model, except those in which his pious fanaticism led him to transgress the rights of humanity.

Kalil, 1405. He left thirty-six sons, and seventeen daughters. It is not surprizing that dissensions arose in so numerous a family ; and that in less than a century its animosity was carried to such a height as to occasion the almost total extinction of his posterity. Pir Mehemed, nominated by Tamerlane, was at a considerable distance when his grand-father expired. Huffayn, the son of one of his daughters, being on the spot, hesitated not to seize the crown, and place it on his own head. He took possession of Samarcand, and all the deceased monarch's treasures. Another of his sons, named Kalil, not being so distant as Mehemed, also caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Both these princes published, that their intention was only to secure the throne for

him whom Tamerlane had appointed for his successor. By this stratagem they gained over some captains and generals, who after selling their aid at a very dear rate first betrayed, then obliged them to abdicate, and then once more reinstated them in their authority. Kalil experienced all these vicissitudes. However, as he possessed many amiable qualities, was gentle, valiant, handsome, generous, and at the head of the best Persian and Tartar troops, there is every reason to suppose that his pretensions would have been deemed valid, had he not dissipated in extravagant caprices his father's immense treasures, and especially had he not suffered himself to be governed by Shadi Mulk, a woman of low birth, of whom he was passionately enamoured, and who led him into the commission of a multitude of errors.

As she was far inferior in rank to the wives of the deceased emperor they beheld her elevation with an envious eye; and Shadi Mulk, on her side, conceived the most rancorous hatred towards them. At her instigation, Kalil disposed of these princesses in a manner which was condemned by all persons of worth. He obliged them to marry men who were not even entitled to be their servants. This opprobrious conduct drew on him the contempt of the whole nation. While he was losing the public esteem, the most necessary of all supports on the eve of a revolution, Mehemed was advancing, and wrote

to him, demanding the restoration of his right. Kalil briefly answered, that possession constituted right. His doctors supported his argument in the following manner; they wrote thus to Mehemed: " It is true that Tamerlane appointed
" you to succeed him, but his will has not been
" ratified by Heaven. If you had been destined
" to fill the throne, you would have been near
" the capital at the emperor's death; there-
" fore the most eligible plan you can pursue is
" to remain satisfied with that which God has
" allotted you, and not hazard the loss of the
" provinces you possess, in endeavouring to seize
" those which are the property of another; lest
" by pursuing the shadow, you lose the sub-
" stance." Mehemed, little convinced by this reasoning, continued to advance. An engagement took place, in which he was defeated; and he entered into a treaty, in which he relinquished his pretensions to the empire, remained satisfied with the share he had, and left Kalil in quiet possession of his dominions.

Mehemed returned to Kandahar, his patrimony, and by the weakness of his administration tempted Pir Alitaza, his minister, to rebel, and aspire to the crown. He took his master prisoner, but still it was not easy for him to ascend his throne, without the consent of the principal nobility. He had the effrontery to propose himself in the following address: " The

“ world is in great confusion ; there are evident
“ signs of the last day being near at hand. It
“ is a time of fraud, and impostors govern all
“ things. Tamerlane, who was the lame im-
“ postor, is dead ; at present it is that of the
“ bald impostor ; after him will come the blind
“ impostor : if the bald impostor be to reign,
“ I am he.” But the bald impostor had not
the talent of persuasion ; and they drove him
out. He sought refuge with Shah Rukh, who
punished him for his treason.

This prince, the fourth son of Tamerlane,
had given an asylum to Hufsayn, the first who
had seized the throne, and whom Kalil dispos-
sessed, and compelled to flee. Thus he had
within his power Kalil's two competitors, Huf-
sayn and Mehemed ; he wanted only Kalil him-
self, and him he soon had also. He had suf-
fered the different pretenders to Tamerlane's
throne to ruin themselves, and while they
fought he had preserved his forces entire. Kalil,
still the slave of his passions, lived at Samarcand,
in a state of indolence, under the government
of Shadi Mulk. She had an old servant named
Baba Termes, a man of low birth, ignoble
countenance, vulgar, and uneducated. His
mistress on her elevation removed Baba from
his employment of attending on her, and pro-
moted him to the chief places of trust in the

empire : he arranged every thing as he pleased, without even consulting the vizier Allahdad.

Irritated at the insolence of this valet, become minister, the vizier fomented disturbances in Samarcand. These furnished him with a plea to levy troops, with whose aid he made his master prisoner, as well as his mistress and her favourite. Shah Rukh, informed of this event, hastened to his nephew's succour. Allahdad, being weaker than his adversary, abandoned the city, but carried Kalil with him as a kind of hostage ; Shadi Mulk was left behind. The conqueror's officers, no doubt with his tacit approbation, treated her with the greatest indignity, put her to the torture to force from her a discovery of her riches ; and when they had deprived her of all, dragged her through the streets, loading her with ignominy, as the most infamous of creatures. Baba was reserved for more cruel torments ; but he escaped from his guards as they passed a piece of water, plunged into it, and drowned himself. Allahdad was seized and punished. Kalil recovering his liberty by the death of his perfidious vizier, retired to the frontiers of Turkestan, where he passed his time in writing elegies, in the Persian language, on the absence of his beloved Shadi Mulk. At length, being unable to support a longer separation, he returned to Samar-

and and threw himself into his uncle's power. Shah Rukh gave him a kind reception, restored him the object of his tenderness, and without recurring to former events, appointed him to a government which he did not long enjoy; his uncle causing him to be poisoned. Shadi Mulk, incapable of supporting this fresh misfortune, cut her throat, and was interred with her unfortunate husband.

Thus Shah Rukh, Tamerlane's fourth son, by the deaths, either violent or natural, of Hufsayn, Mehemed, and Kalil, his nephews, whom he had held prisoners successively, found himself in possession of the most considerable part of the interior dominions of Tamerlane his father. Too much engaged with the factions of the nobles, and with what surrounded him, he was unable to preserve his vast empire entire, whose frontiers were daily contracting by the invasions of the contiguous nations. He was, however, a great prince, and reigned with glory during a space of forty-three years. He, like his father, left a numerous progeny, the seeds of future commotions. His children divided the kingdom, and their descendants were seconded in their dismemberment by the posterity of the other sons and grand-sons of Tamerlane; by which, in Tartary, Hindostan, and Persia, from the Euxine to the frozen ocean, and from the river Oby to the Indus, there exists very few

districts which during the fifteenth century were not governed by princes descended from that conqueror, reigning under the titles of sultans, khans, emirs, and even shahs, which signifies emperors. From the wreck of this immense empire arose kingdoms and small principalities; as the stones of dismantled palaces serve to erect others, or to build huts.

PERSIA.

The Sophis
of Persia.

The sophis of Persia trace back their descent in a direct male line to Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomet. The manner in which this family acquired its lustre entitled it to that veneration which exalted it to the grandeur it attained. Tamerlane returning from Anatolia, after the conquest of Bajazet, dragged a multitude of wretched captives in his train, whom he destined to be sacrificed on some important occasion. Traversing Ardebil, the capital of Azerbejan, he learned that a shiek, or descendant of Mahomed, resided in the neighbourhood, who was much esteemed for his piety. The zeal of the emperor was too ardent to suffer him to proceed without visiting this holy personage; and he was so well satisfied with him, that he told him to ask any boon he pleased, and he would grant it. The shiek requested the lives of the captives, and obtained his desire. Tamerlane gave them to him, to treat them according

to his inclination. As soon as the shiek had the power of acting for himself, he gave to each of them a necessary assortment of provisions, clothes, and other necessaries, and sent them back to their own country. This generosity so completely gained the affections of these unfortunate people, and their countrymen, that a day never elapsed without some of them returning to their benefactor, and carrying him presents.

These testimonies of gratitude continued during three generations, until the time of Juneid, grand-son of the shiek, who lived in the reign of a very suspicious prince, who took umbrage at these assiduities, and forbade them. Juneid, apprehending worse treatment, withdrew into Diarbekar, where he was favourably received by the king, who gave him his daughter in marriage. He was of infinite utility to his father-in-law, especially against the Georgians, whom he attacked under the pretext of religion, forcing the prisoners to embrace his. He penetrated even into the kingdom of Trebifond, slew the king, and placed his son Haydar on the throne. He then established himself in the province of Schirwan, whose sovereign, envious of his riches, put him to death. His son was killed in attempting to avenge him, and left two very young children, named Ali and Ismael, exposed to the hatred of his family. The eldest fell a victim to their

machinations ; Ismael, the second, escaped, and was educated with great care in Ghilan, by a shiek who had been their father's friend.

Shah Ismael
Sopli, 1st
Shah, 1590.

At that period there were numbers of the sectaries of Ali amongst the mahometans of Asia, and Haydar had openly espoused their opinions. Ismael, his son, knowing that a great number of them was spread through Caramania, where they had even taken the name of Haydarians, went thither, and assembled together seven hundred men all devoted to his family. At the head of this little army he attacked his father's murderer, slew him in battle, and took possession of his dominions. From that moment his life was one continued scene of prosperity, which suffered no interruption till his death. "One only God in heaven," he would say, "and one king on the earth." Adhering to this maxim, which had been that of Tamerlane, he treated those who resisted him as criminals. Terrible to his enemies, he set fire to the pile, and then threw them in alive. In one of his expeditions he commanded his troops to massacre all those who had borne arms against his father ; and forty thousand were put to death. It is observable that the throne of the first sopli of Persia was stained with blood, and that the chief of that dynasty was a merciless conqueror. Under his reign began the struggle for power between the Persians and the Turks. The good

fortune of Ismael fell before that of Selim, who drove him out of Tauris: Ismael retired to Kasbin, and died shortly after that event unrevenged. He was the first who took the name of sophi, the literal signification of which is, "a man clothed in woollen;" but in the common acceptation it meant a pious person. This appellation procured him the greatest respect from his subjects, whom he took infinite pains to maintain in their fanaticism. Ismael was only forty-eight years of age at his death, and had reigned twenty-three.

Tahmasp, his son, succeeded him. He was ^{Tahmasp,} an indolent prince, who confided the cares of ^{2d Shah,} ^{523.} the administration to his ministers, and solely devoted himself to the pleasures of his seraglio. The Turks profited by his inactivity, and gained some advantages. Instead of sending his son Ismael, a young man of a lively ardent spirit, against them, he chained down his courage in a strong fortress, where he kept him prisoner, because he was ambitious. He was less suspicious of another son, named Haydar, who, impatient to see the throne vacated, in concert with his mother, poisoned him. Scarcely was he seated in his father's place, when his sister Periakonna, the eldest of all Tahmasp's children, and sovereign of the seraglio, caused the parricide to be assassinated, and recalled Ismael. Tahmasp reigned fifty-three years. He was the first who

laid waste his own territories to prevent the enemy from finding subsistence there. By this practice, the frontiers of Turkey and Persia, one of the most beautiful countries in the world, have been reduced almost to a desert.

Ismael II d.
3d Shah,
1575.

Ismael rushed from his prison, after a confinement of twenty-five years, like a ferocious animal escaped from his cage, tearing and destroying whatever fell in his way. He put all Hadar's friends to death, all his other brothers, and whomever he suspected of either having advised or approved of his father's imprisoning him. His conduct verified the proverb; that the reign of a prince who returns from exile is always cruel and sanguinary. The equitable Periakonkonna, exasperated at this violence, caused him to be assassinated at the end of two years.

Mohammed
Khodabandeh 4th
Shah, 1577.

Mohammed, the brother and successor of Ismael, did not find himself disposed to suffer the authority which his sister assumed in the seraglio. Before he accepted the crown, he required the removal of that dangerous superintendant; which request was complied with. It really was contrary to his inclination that this prince assumed the sceptre. He had resided quietly in the government of Khorassan, solely devoted to his religious duties, which obtained him the surname of Khodabandeh, which signifies pious. His sight was extremely weak, which was the reason that

Ismael spared him when he murdered his other brothers. They could only prevail on him to ascend the throne, by proving to him, that if he, who was the only lawful heir, refused it, the kingdom must inevitably fall into a state of confusion, which would infallibly disturb his beloved tranquillity. He revenged himself for the violence done him by imitating the indolence of Tahmasp his father.

The same faults are imputed to him: an inattention to the administration, and a great repugnance to war. The latter could not be accounted a vice, had not the Turks been enemies, whom it was necessary to repulse. They converted Tauris into a place of arms in his very dominions, by building a citadel there. In the war which existed against his will between the two nations, we must remark two traits of singular cruelty. A general ordered three thousand prisoners' heads to be piled together, and seated in the midst of this horrid tribunal, gave audience to a Georgian prince. The Persians, on their side, defeated the Turks as they were passing a river, and with thirty thousand heads erected a dreadful monument of Persian valour. Khodabandeh reigned seven years.

He left three sons, the two eldest of whom, Hamzeh and Ismael, 3d, 5th, and 6th Shahs. Hamzeh and Ismael, merely appeared upon the throne, and are scarcely numbered amongst the emperors. The eldest had, during his father's

life, displayed much courage and ability against the Turks. The youngest, much more skilful in the arts of intrigue, gained over the principal nobility, and as soon as he was assured of their approbation, stationed assassins, well instructed in the part allotted them, disguised as women, at the doors of the seraglio, who announced themselves as the wives of some khans, whom the emperor had summoned to attend him. The doors flew open, and the pretended women rushed on the prince and massacred him. Abbas, the third son of Khodabandeh, had just arrived from his government to do homage to his brother, when he heard of his death, and retreated. He had a vizier, named Kouli Khan, who suspecting that sooner or later Abbas would become the victim of Ismael, and that himself could not expect a different fate from his master, formed a faction of malcontents in the court. They suborned his barber, who in shaving him cut his throat. The nobles present at the transaction instantly sacrificed the assassin, that every trace of the crime might be effaced. All these events took place in the short space of eight months.

Shah Abbas,
7th Shah,
1584.

History distinguishes Shah Abbas by the surname of the Great: we shall soon be able to judge whether he merited the appellation. His first act on ascending the throne was to free himself from the government of Kouli Khan, who had saved him from the murderous steel of his bro-

ther. That vizier, assuming on the service he had rendered him, conducted himself with haughty insolence even to the emperor, whose youth he pretended to despise. Abbas was only twenty. He summoned three lords of his council, and said to them: "I am resolved to have Kouli Khan's life: go and give him his death wound." His commands were obeyed. The relations and friends of the minister, and all those who might either complain or avenge him, were instantly massacred. This was his constant mode of proceeding in similar circumstances. Shah Abbas next prosecuted the war against the Turks, which he conducted in person with great success and glory, retook Tauris, and defeated them in four battles. He, on his side, experienced some checks; but they were soon repaired by his valour and skill. He was served with enthusiasm by his troops, whose confidence his bravery had won; and gallantly aided by his generals, whom he had the art of attaching to him by recompenses and flattering distinctions. One of them returning after a glorious campaign against the Turks, the emperor went out of the city to meet him, and advancing towards him, said: "My dear Aga, through your means I have just obtained so brilliant a victory, that I could not have entreated of God a greater. Come, mount my horse, and I will serve as your attendant." In vain did the

general remonstrate against that honour, which he urged would expose him to the ridicule of the whole army: he was obliged to comply. Abbas took the horse's bridle, and all the khans followed him on foot a few paces.

What is most admirable in the military successes of Abbas is, that they were procured by those very means which ought to have prevented them. When he ascended the throne, the kingdom was divided between more than twenty princes, who had become sovereigns each of his district, and whom he was under the necessity of reducing to obedience. To prevent the future dismemberment of the kingdom, he ruined all the ancient families; and to render himself absolutely despotic, he cashiered the troops who had awed his predecessors. These families and troops were all of the race of the Kurkas, those Tartars so famed for their great invasions. They were so united a body for their mutual preservation, that they might be regarded as masters of the kingdom. They all knew each other by a common signal, which was that of a red turban; a distinction they considered as honourable, and whence they took the name of Kussilbashis, which means red heads. Abbas had the talent of engaging them all to concur in establishing his grandeur, though contrary to their own interest. He weakened them without their perceiving it, by joining to them in his court and armies nobles

and soldiers drawn from the northern parts of Persia; and amongst others Georgians. In proportion as the power of the latter increased, that of the Kurkas diminished; and the emperor found these troops, thus mixed, ready in case of necessity to carry arms against the petty sovereigns whom their countrymen would have spared. He also practised the art of exciting them against each other. If his conduct towards them be judged by that he observed towards the kings of Georgia, we may, not unjustly, conclude that his politics were not exempt from fraud.

Georgia, the object of jealousy to both the Turks and Persians, was divided into two sovereignties—the kingdoms of Caket and Crathuel. The former was the possession of Taymuraz, the latter of Luarzab. Abbas formed a determination of destroying them both, and of becoming master of Georgia. Alexander king of Caket, the father of Taymuras, had been necessitated to send his son as an hostage to the court of Persia. He had been educated with Abbas, and was nearly of the same age. On the death of Alexander, Ketavana, his widow, demanded his eldest son, promising to return another in his stead; which request was granted. During this time, the youthful Luarzab reigned in Carthuel, under the direction of Morad, a very able minister. The guardian one day surprized the king shut

up with his daughter, who was extremely beautiful. To appease the father's wrath, Luarzab engaged to marry her ; but his mother, and the other ladies of the court, swore that they would never honour with the dignity of queen a woman so greatly their inferior in rank. This threat furnished the king with a plea for breaking his word. He was advised to rid himself of Morad, who was a very vindictive man. Luarzab planned his measures for that purpose ; but the minister took refuge at the court of Persia, whither he carried the desire of avenging his wounded vanity.

Love, that had endangered his life, also enabled him to invent an intrigue, which ruined both the kingdoms. The king of Carthuel had a very beautiful sister, named Darejan, whom he had promised to the king of Caket. Morad either rendered Abbas enamoured of her by the seducing picture he drew of her charms, or persuaded him to appear so. He demanded her in marriage, and received for answer that she was engaged to Taymuraz. The emperor forbade the latter to espouse Luarzab's sister ; at the same time giving him reason to believe, that he might suffer himself to be prevailed on if he refused the Turks a passage through Georgia, who were preparing to carry their arms into Persia. Taymuraz complied with the wily Persian's request, and thus deprived himself of an alliance which might

have been of infinite advantage: but he very soon perceived the fault he had committed. Abbas, freed from that fear, feigned more than ever to be enamoured of the beautiful Darejan. He protested that she was as much attached to him as he was to her; and that he was resolved to marry her.

He had a great many Georgians in his army, and allowed pensions to several nobles of that country. Morad daily augmented his number of adherents. Some princes of the blood royal had embraced mahometism that they might arrive at the first dignities of the state. Abbas had two sons of Taymuraz, and a brother and sister of Luarzab, hostages at his court. Thus every thing concurred to facilitate the conquest of Georgia; and to these favourable circumstances he added the discord he attempted to sow between the two kings. He thus wrote to Taymuraz: "Luarzab is a traitor, who never adheres to his word. If you will assist me in dethroning him, I will put you in his place, and join the kingdom of Carthuel to that of Caket." At the same time he made the same propositions and promises to Luarzab. But the two kings had an interview, and came to an explication; the result of which was, that Luarzab should comply with the wishes of Taymuraz, by giving him the beautiful Darejan.

The Shah, exasperated at what he considered an insult, entered Georgia at the head of a powerful army, and destroyed the country with fire and sword. Taymuraz, on whom the storm first broke, dispatched Ketavane his mother to procure his pardon. Although she was no longer young, she was still very handsome. Abbas, either captivated by her charms, or pretending to be so, offered her his hand if she would embrace mahometism. She refused the throne on that condition, and died a martyr to her faith. Abbas made her two grand-children eunuchs, and pursued with the most envenomed rancour the father, who fled to the Turks for refuge. From Caket the sophi fell on Carthuel, through which he also carried devastation and ruin: he even levelled the trees which supported the silk-worms;—an irreparable loss. After a glorious defense, which must even have delivered the shah into the power of Luarzab, had not the traitor Morad extricated him from a defile, in which he was hemmed in, the Georgian was obliged, like Taymuraz, to seek safety in flight. Abbas, being conscious that his conquest could not be permanent as long as that prince was at liberty, wrote him letters full of kindness, in which he invited him to his court, and promised to give him the possession of all Georgia, if he would confide in his honour. If he should refuse, he

threatened to prosecute his ravages, and to reduce his unhappy country to one scene of desolation.

The love of his people induced him to comply with the proposal. The emperor re-instated him on his throne with all possible solemnity, and loaded him with presents. Amongst other valuables, he gave him an egret of jewels, extremely beautiful, desiring him constantly to wear it as the ensign of royalty, particularly when he should be in his presence. The Shah had among his guards a very dextrous thief, whom he commanded to steal the egret. Luarzab, after many vain attempts to find it, presented himself without it, and pleaded its having been purloined. Abbas, pretending a violent passion, exclaimed that it was impossible there should be a thief in his court, and that it was more probable that the king of Georgia contemned his present. He instantly ordered him to be seized, and not daring to put him to death, lest the Georgians should revolt, he exiled him to a very unwholesome place; but as his constitution was proof against bad air, he caused him to be drowned.

Taymuraz, assisted by the Turks, returned to Georgia, and was re-established on the throne of Caket, whence Abbas once more expelled him. It is imagined that he submitted to the usurper, who permitted him to live peaceably

by means of his daughter, and a subsidy he gave him. The sophi erected fortresses in Georgia, which he garrisoned with Persians, and removed more than twenty-four thousand Georgian families from their country, whom he transported into various parts of his dominions, especially into Armenia, and replaced them with Persians and Armenians. He next formed a plan of preserving by clemency what he had acquired by violence, and promised the Georgians, by oath, that neither he nor his successors would ever oppress them with taxes, change their religion, demolish their churches, or build mosques; that the viceroy should always be a Georgian of the race of their kings; and that if his son would embrace mahometism he should enjoy the dignity of grand-provost, and governor of Ispahan, till the period of his succeeding his father. In this latter clause, the artful policy of Abbas is conspicuous, as was his cruelty in his conduct towards the Kurds and his own sons.

The Kurds are a wandering nation living between Turkey and Persia, and always at the service of the highest bidder. The Shah employed them to take Tauris, promising them the pillage of the city, the most powerful of all lures for them. After they had done him that service, it occurred to him, that for the same bribe they probably might do as much for the Turks as they had for him. To prevent the

possibility of his fears being realized, he invited the principal chieftains to dinner. His tent, by his orders, had been constructed with so many windings, that those who entered could scarcely see those who preceded them but a few paces. Two executioners stationed near the entrance massacred the guests as soon as they arrived.

These cruelties, and many others, merely dictated by precaution, the most odious of all, rendered him insupportable to the nobility of the realm. Some among them had the temerity to throw a letter into the chamber of Safi Mīrza, his son, in which they tendered him their assistance to ascend the throne, if he would consent to adopt the measures they had planned. The young prince, shuddering with horror at a project which could only be effected by his father's death, carried him the letter. The emperor commended his affection and tenderness, but he was seized with such incessant terrors, that he was a stranger to repose, and each night a prey to the most dreadful forebodings. He changed his chamber two or three times. At length the monster determined the death of his son, to free himself from his inquietudes. This son was the last remaining out of four, the offspring of his lawful wives; their father's barbarous suspicions had consigned them all to an early tomb. The two elder betrayed too martial a spirit, and were

poisoned; the third, conscious of the fate his father designed him, died of melancholy. The death of Saff Mirza is differently related. This young prince, according to some authors, was just returned from a glorious expedition against Arabia, with his spouse, an Arabian princess, the mother of a son and a daughter. Abbas, jealous of his success, gave him a very cool reception. Mirza could not dissemble his discontent. The emperor led him into a distant apartment, and left him alone; when instantly seven men rushed in with a bow-string to strangle him. His strength being prodigious, he laid three dead at his feet, but the rest still endeavoured to put the cord round his neck. The father entered, caused his son, sinking with fatigue, to be bound, and commanded his eyes to be seared with a red-hot iron, in his presence. The princess informed of the violence done her husband, hastened to him, and found him in a state of frenzy and despair. He seized his youthful daughter and strangled her. The wretched mother at first thought that it was the effect of madness; but seeing him stretch out his arms, and feel round him in search of his son, she fled with him. There was reason to believe that the unfortunate Mirza only sought to kill his son, as he had his daughter, to be revenged of his father, who was ten-

derly attached to the children. The prince died shortly after in the most terrifying agonies of despair.

Other historians are less circumstantial in their account of that horrid event; according to them, Abbas commanded Bebut, one of his officers, to go and kill his son. The latter met the prince mounted on a mule, attended only by a page. He seized the bridle, and said; "Dismount, Safi Mirza, thy father demands thy life;" at the same time throwing him off his mule. The young prince exclaimed: "Alas! my God, what have I done to merit this punishment? Cursed be the traitor who has done this! However, since it is the will of God, be his commands and the king's executed." Scarcely had he pronounced these words, when Bebut gave him two wounds with a poniard, and extended him dead on the earth.

In whatever manner this crime was perpetrated, certain it is, that the father's repentance followed close upon the deed. The unfortunate mother of Mirza flew to her husband's apartment, and unawed by the monarch's barbarous temper, reproached him with his inhumanity, flew upon him, and even dared to strike him. Abbas, stunned; and as it were deprived of all sensation, contented himself with replying—"What would

“you have had me do? I had been informed
“that he aimed at my life. There is no re-
“medy, the deed is done.” The father shut
himself up during six days, holding his hand-
kerchief to his eyes that he might not see the
light of the sun. For a month he only ate
sufficient to prevent his dying of hunger; he
wore a mourning habit for the space of a year;
and during the remainder of his life refrained
from every ornament of attire which could dis-
tinguish him from the rest of his subjects.

But he celebrated the obsequies of the prince
in a manner worthy of his ferocity. He invited
the khans whose fidelity he suspected to a feast,
and likewise all the sycophants who had preju-
diced him against his son, and having had poi-
son conveyed into the wine, detained them
until he saw them all expire. Some months
afterwards, a recollection recurred to him very
fatal in its effects to Bebut, the assassin of his
son. He commanded him to depart, and with
his own hand sever his son's head from his
body and bring it to him. “How dost thou
“find thyself?” said the tyrant, when he be-
held him holding the head. “Alas! fire,” re-
plied Bebut, “I need not say. I tenderly loved
“my son: his death will break my heart.”
“Go,” said the king, “feel what must have
“been my grief when thou toldest me of the

"death of mine. My son and thine are no more: console thyself in reflecting that thou art in this respect equal with thy master."

This prince, though so formidable, was not exempt from a misfortune which spares not the greatest monarchs. He was on a journey accompanied by his wives, shut up, as was the custom, in covered paniers, hanging on each side of a camel. Observing that one panier hung lower than the other, he went to assist to fix it properly, and found the chancellor with his lady. He instantly had them buried alive. Abbas even refined on his cruelty to a governor who, after having promised to deliver up a place, broke his word, and suffered himself to be taken. The emperor caused him to be sewed up in a bull's hide newly flayed, and thrown into the high road, where he was fed in the burning sun. As the hide dried and contracted, he experienced the most excruciating tortures, of which he died after a long state of agony.

The justice of Shah Abbas is celebrated, though frequently stamped with his natural ferocity. He ordered a baker who refused to sell bread to the poor to be thrown into a hot oven; and hung on the hooks of his shambles, some say, burned in the public market, a butcher who used false weights. He was less severe to a judge who received a bribe from both parties. The sophi sentenced him to ride on an

afs, his face turned towards the tail, which served for a bridle, his fine vesture to be covered with dirt, and in that manner to be led through the city, preceded by a crier to announce his crime. This prince had a grand-master of artillery whom he very much esteemed, but who was the most jealous of mortals. If any of the neighbours appeared on the terrace of his dwelling in the evening, to enjoy the fresh air, as is the custom of the country, that officer's eunuchs, who were in ambush in every corner of the garden, shot all those they discovered, under the pretext that they could see into their master's seraglio. A complaint was addressed to Shah Abbas, who told his grand-master to be cautious how he acted, and to keep his wives confined at night as well as by day, if he feared his neighbours should look at them. In despite of this warning, this mode of repressing curiosity was continued. A man of some consequence was killed; all the family went in tears to demand justice, and mentioned upwards of twenty persons who had met a similar fate. The king became furious: "Go," exclaimed he, "and kill that mad dog, his wives, his children, and his domestics:—let not a soul remain of that cursed race." The sentence was immediately executed.

One of the last military actions of Shah Abbas was the reduction of Ormus, which had

been rather a considerable kingdom, on the coast of Kerman, but which was insensibly reduced to the Isle of Ormus, and some adjacent territory. Its situation in the Persian gulf rendered it a desirable situation for commerce. The Portuguese had taken it from the natives; but the English, envious of its position, assisted Abbas to get possession of it, and on that occasion obtained some very advantageous privileges for their ships trading to those seas. The emperor engaged in that expedition rather with a view to extend the commerce of his subjects, than from a desire of conquest. He omitted no opportunity of inspiring them with a taste for it, but he found very little inclination among the Persians to embark in it, who were too proud, and too much addicted to their ease: he then turned his thoughts towards the Armenians, a sober, careful people, inured to fatigue. He judged also that being christians they were the most proper to treat with christians; Abbas advanced them considerable funds, particularly of silk, for which on their return they were only to pay a very moderate interest. Thus he was the founder of their commerce, since become so considerable in Europe and Asia; and which they have extended into Tonquin and the Philippine isles. He banished usury from his dominions, and likewise the Banians, who are said to be as expert as the Jews at that trade; how-

ever, they have again established themselves there. That money might as little as possible be carried out of the kingdom, he declaimed against the pilgrimage to Mecca, and supported another, of which he set the example, by visiting the tomb of an illustrious saint in one of his own provinces. His subjects who inhabited the interior parts of his domains, and those he could protect from the scourge of war, were happy under his reign, which was of fifty years' duration.—He lived seventy.

Safi I. 8th
Shah, 1628.

In his dying moments he gave orders that the crown should be placed on the head of the son of the unfortunate Mirza Sophi, and that he should take his father's name. The princess, his mother, since her husband's tragic end, had lived in continual terror. This state of dread was increased, when at her father-in-law's death the nobles came to entreat her to commit her son to their care, that they might seat him on the throne. She fled with him to her apartment, and barricaded the door, under the idea that it was a fresh attempt of his grand-father. They remained three whole days endeavouring to convince her of her mistake, and to gain admittance. At length they threatened to burst the door; she opened it, and holding her son by the hand she said: "Go, my child, go join thy father, by means of the murderous hands that expect thee." She was most agreeably surprized

when she saw the nobles fall at his feet, and proclaim him emperor. He was only sixteen years of age. It were desirable that the mother's apprehensions had not been groundless, and that this young monster had been swept from off the surface of the earth; for his life was rather that of an executioner than a prince. We will spare the reader a circumstantial account of his atrocity; and only relate a few traits of the deliberate barbarity of this second Nero, who, bearing in his countenance every mark of clemency and goodness, cherished in his heart the vicious inclinations of a savage and inexorable tyrant. Since he is deemed worthy of being ranked with Nero, we are to conclude that he was the assassin of his family, and the murderer of his wife and mother. The first object of his brutality was one of his brothers, by another mother, whose eyes he put out. According to his barbarous policy he ought to have killed him entirely; for he caused two of his uncles, deprived of sight by his grand-father, to be dashed down from a high rock, saying—"Since they are blind, what use are they of in the world?" Sasi had an aunt whose conversation was extremely agreeable; she one day told him, that she was surprized, that young and vigorous as he was, and surrounded with beautiful women, he should have no children, while she only had three by her husband. She then added some witty reflec-

tions on lands badly ploughed, that remain sterile for want of culture. He only laughed with her, and replied, that he had time enough to think of heirs. She imprudently answered: "Ah! it is all in vain, sire, I greatly fear that after your death the Persians will be obliged to have recourse to one of my children." This appeared more serious to the sopher. The following day he invited his aunt to dinner, and ordered three jugs with covers to be served up, out of which they drew the three heads of her children. The monster then looking at the princess, said: "Console yourself, you are young enough to repair the loss." She was confounded, but seeing the king's eyes glare with a fury that menaced her death, she cast herself at his feet, saying: "It is all well. God grant the king a long and happy life." Her husband, whom the tyrant called and shewed the heads, escaped also by making the same parade of submission.

On a simple suspicion he put to death the grand-master of his household, his chancellor, and one of the nobles, to whom he was most indebted for the throne. That officer informed him of a conspiracy that was in agitation, and advised him to debarrafs himself of the traitors to insure his own life. "Thou art in the right," replied he, "and I will begin with thee; for as thou art the oldest, and most ex-

“perienced of my nobles, thou art certainly “in the plot.” To delay the emperor’s orders was death. But what is truly deserving notice, is the prompt obedience of those wretched beings. One, certain to die, though innocent, if he warns the monarch of his danger, chooses rather to be massacred than be wanting in fidelity. Another sees his dearest friend enter, attended with two executioners; “Most undoubtedly, dear friend,” said he, “you are not the messenger of good fortune.” “You are right, dear brother,” replied the other; “the king has commanded me to carry him your head, and you must submit.” Saying these words he seized him, and severed his head from his body, without meeting the least resistance.

When Safi intended these executions he wore red; and at that funereal signal every one trembled. They tried the effect of poison, which was administered to him in his seraglio; but the strength of his constitution overcame it, and a fit of illness was all the result of its operation. During his recovery there was a great noise heard one night in the seraglio, and the following day the report was spread that he had caused forty women to be buried alive. At the same time the queen’s mother was said to have died of the plague; but no person doubted her having been of the number of those unhappy women. With respect to his wife, a very amiable princess,

he sent for her one day, after a repast in which wine had not been spared. The empress hastened, and found him asleep. She concealed herself, it is not known why, behind the tapestry. He awoke, and asked for her. They pointed to the spot where she stood. Sasi ordered them to stab her five or six times with a dagger. She expired, and he very composedly fell asleep again.

Historians have endeavoured to excuse him, by attributing these barbarities to wine, which affected his reason; but inebriety did not occasion him first to burn the eyes with a hot-iron, and then to tear them out, effectually to deprive the wretched victim of the possibility of the smallest glimmering of light. Travellers relate a circumstance which is replete with horror, but which it is proper to mention that we may felicitate ourselves on being natives of a country where such enormities are unknown. The eyes were torn out with the point of a dagger, then carried in a basin to the king; and as his commands were indiscriminately given to the first person he met, it was frequently executed so unskilfully, that death was the consequence. Sasi had ordered his son, a youth of thirteen years old, to be deprived of sight. The eunuch whom he commissioned to execute it spared him, and taught him to counterfeit blindness. The emperor, attacked by a mortal disease, regretted his

having rendered him incapable of reigning. The eunuch, convinced of the sincerity of his repentance, conducted the prince to him, enjoying the blessing of sight. His father desired the nobles to acknowledge him for his legitimate successor. He expired it is supposed by poison, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

Abbas the Second was only thirteen years of age when he ascended the throne. It is easy to conceive the joy of the court after so dangerous a reign as was that of his father to its residents: however, they had no great reason to rejoice at the exchange. Intoxication, passion, an uncontrollable love of power, and prodigality, we may say, of human lives, rendered the fate of the courtiers as precarious as it had been under Shah Safi. Abbas the First had banished a number of eunuchs, useless in his household, to a commodious dwelling embellished with gardens; Abbas the Second, thinking they lived too long, caused the younger ones to be all killed in one night, leaving only fifteen, who were very old, to wait a natural death, because it could not be distant. He felt no more tenderness for his family than his father had for his. He did not choose that his two married sisters should become mothers, and therefore sent them a potion to procure abortion. When they were again pregnant, he permitted them to remain quiet till they were

Abbas II.
9th Shah,
1642.

delivered, and then ordered that their infants should die of hunger. Four of his wives were, by his command, burned alive; the three first because they had quitted the apartment to prevent their becoming intoxicated with him, the fourth because she unwillingly received his careffes.

The European travellers who relate these events make a pompous eulogium on the great qualities of Abbas II. One of them even carries his adulation so far as to say, that it would be difficult to name a virtue which he did not possess. He also bestows many praises on him for his attention towards strangers; and that, most probably, was the real cause of this panegyric. The emperor lived on terms of familiarity with them, admitted them to partake of his amusements; and those travellers, being chiefly merchants, gained prodigious sums by him. A taste for jewellery and mechanism reigned in that court, neither were the sciences neglected. There were three blind princes of the blood: one of whom was well skilled in mathematics and algebra; another had the talent of making all kinds of figures either in copper or wood with singular exactness; and the third could decide by the touch the degree of perfection of all works of art, however delicate.

Abbas was a lover of justice; but he was extremely arbitrary in the punishments he inflicted: a fault which not unfrequently is equi-

valent to injustice itself. Two men, whom he pretended to consult on the conduct of a governor whose favour they wished to gain, spoke of him in a manner which the emperor knew to be false. Turning to his nobles, he said: "What think you of these parasites, who know that all they have asserted is the contrary to truth?" He sentenced the young man to have two teeth drawn, and the old one to have them transplanted into his head, who nearly died in consequence of the operation. The caprice of this punishment is surely blameable, it having no analogy with the fault. This prince sacrificed his life to a caprice. His seraglio was filled with the most beautiful women in the kingdom; however he took a fancy to a public dancer. She threw herself at his feet, and told him reasons which were sufficient to suspend his passion. But he persisted in his resolve, and became the victim of a malady which, after several months of dreadful sufferings, terminated his existence. He died in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and the thirty-seventh of his age.

He left two sons, one twenty years old, and the other eight. The youngest was on the point of being elected to the prejudice of the eldest; for the nobility preferred a regency to the government of a prince who was of an age to direct the administration. However, the better opinion prevailed: Saff II. was acknowledg-

Saff II. or
Solyman,
1666.
1666.

ed, that is to say, his sabre was girded on his side at the door of the seraglio, and he received the congratulations of his subjects; in which consists the whole ceremonial of the installation of the sopheris of Persia. He was attacked with a disorder, which reduced him to a very languid state. The physicians, unable to decide on his malady, threw the blame on the astrologers, who they pretended had chosen an unfavourable moment for the king's enthronement. It was judged necessary to renew the ceremony of his inauguration. A gawr, or fire-worshipper, of the race of the Rustans, was fixed on; who was placed on a throne with his back against a wooden figure which was an exact resemblance of him. All the great nobles of the court stood round, and attended him as if he had been the sovereign. At the instant declared propitious by the astrologers, an officer with one blow of a sabre struck off the wooden head. The pageant king rose and fled with all imaginable precipitation. The sopheri, as though he began to reign by the usurper's death, was installed anew, and took the name of Solyman, which has remained to him.

At the beginning of his reign is placed the daring action of Ali Kouli Khan, a brave general, but a turbulent and dangerous man, and on that account often confined. He called himself the king's lion, because, said he, "I am chained up,

“ when uselefs, and let loose when I am wanted.” He was prisoner in a fortress at the death of Abbas, but treated with so much lenity that he was even sometimes permitted to go a-hunting. Having received intelligence of Solyman’s accession, as soon as he returned he fell upon the governor, and so bruised him with blows that he nearly killed him. At each stroke he exclaimed : “ That is to teach you your duty ; and another “ time not to suffer a man to go a-hunting “ whom the king has intrusted to your care.” After this frolic, Kouli Khan sat off for court, and related his conduct to the king, who received him graciously. There is another trait told of him, that in any other country would have been severely punished, but which there increased his favour. He presented the sovereign with two boys who possessed extremely fine voices. After hearing them sing, Solyman expressed his regret that he could not introduce them into his haram. Kouli Khan was not easily embarrassed on any occasion : he made eunuchs of them, and thus rendered them fit to contribute to the amusement of Solyman’s wives. His services were of great utility in the wars against the Usbeks and the Kossaks, the only two during the reign of Solyman. These he committed to the conduct of his generals ; he being much more formidable to his subjects than to his enemies.

After all that has been said of the cruelties of his predecessors, and however we are grown familiar with horrors, it is still painful to trace those which stained this barbarian's reign, who was as drunken as his father and grand-father, and as wicked as they, as well sober as when in liquor. We will only cast a cursory glance over them.

He sentenced a musician to lose his hands for not having touched the lute quite to his taste. The nobleman he commissioned to see it executed delayed it, and was condemned to lose a hand also. Another person suffered a similar punishment for having carried a flambeau at too great a distance from the king, a precaution which he took to prevent the flame from incommoding him. When the tents were struck, in his journeys, it was not uncommon to find the earth strewn with dead bodies and mangled limbs. Those executions were very frequent in the seraglio, where they were not so subject to discovery. He caused a young female to be buried alive for uttering a complaint that he had condemned her brother's hand to be cut off; and flayed an eunuch alive for intreating mercy for some condemned persons. Even Kouli Khan, notwithstanding his services, was not, as by his predecessors, merely doomed to imprisonment, but was put to death for a very slight offense. Solyman took great pleasure in humiliating, in-

sulting, and dishonouring his ministers; notwithstanding which, he always found some to fill the post. In fine, it would be difficult to enumerate the enormities of this tiger thirsting for human gore. We will terminate this account with one which cannot be read without shuddering.—An historian has many painful moments.—In an amorous fit of displeasure with one of his favourite Circassians of illustrious birth, he ordered her to be immediately married to a man taken from the lowest rank of the populace. Chance allotted her to the son of a bleacher. He was rather handsome, and the lady lived on good terms with him. The king was secretly hurt at it. He sent for her husband, and said to him: “When you married, by my command, that incomparable beauty of high birth, what feast or rejoicing did you make on the occasion?” “Sire,” replied he, “I am but a poor man, and had not the means of making an illumination.” “What,” returned the sopher, “that dog did not even make an illumination! Make one with his body.” The unhappy victim was stretched on his back, and with the point of a dagger innumerable holes were dug all over his body, which they filled with oil, fixed a small wick in each, and left him to expire in those excruciating tortures. Solyman died in his bed at the age of forty-eight, after having reigned twenty-nine years. If it

be true that ferocity of mind has connexion with bodily strength, we shall cease being astonished at this prince's barbarity. He performed the most violent exercises with the greatest ease; and could bend a gold cup the thickness of a crown by pressing it in his hand. Like the tiger, whose striped skin announces no savageness of nature, so Solyman prepossessed every stranger in his favour, by his placid countenance, gay and modest air, and graceful deportment.

Shah Huf-
feyn, 11th
Shah, 1694.

Huffeyn, his son, was the most merciful prince of his race, and the most unfortunate. On his ascending the throne he displayed many estimable virtues that his courtiers, and especially the eunuchs, endeavoured by every means in their power to pervert. The chief part of his predecessor's vices were imputed to wine: Huffeyn prohibited its use; but his eunuchs, partly by intreaties, and partly by engaging the physicians to prescribe it as a cordial, at length taught him the love of liquor. That propensity, however, did not render him cruel; its only pernicious effects were to lull his faculties, and unfit him for every necessary exertion. He buried himself, as it were, in the delights of his seraglio, absolutely indifferent to every other concern, even in the most critical and momentous circumstances of the empire. The enemy being at the very gates, the ministers tried to rouse

him from his lethargy, by representing the near approach of the danger; but he coolly replied—"It is your affair; you have armies, employ them. For my part, provided my house at Ferabad is left me, I am content." These words sufficiently prove his almost incredible apathy to the national concerns, and in some degree prepares the mind for his fatal catastrophe.

The sophi found a council of state in the seraglio, composed of eunuchs. He confirmed their power, and gave them an unlimited authority over all the ministers: even the prime-minister was not permitted to act without their sanction. These counsellors disposed of all offices and employments; and though destitute of heirs in a direct line, were not the less rapacious of wealth to enrich their families. They frequently sent the kalaat, a badge of honour, from the sovereign to the governors of towns and provinces, that they might receive the presents they made in return. The latter reimbursed their expenses by their extortions from the people. They also altered the custom of appointing governors for life; and by that arrangement sometimes sold the same places several times in a few years: a fresh oppression on the people, who were obliged to pay for their welcome. This council consisted of both black and white eunuchs, as opposite by their jealousy of power as by their difference of colour; con-

frequently it became necessary to bribe both parties, to be left in tranquil enjoyment of any dignity or office ; and still the expense was levied on the people by their fordid governors.

Hussey'n's ruling passion was building. He spared no expense in magnificent architecture, splendid furniture, nor in inventions to conquer difficulties. If the drained provinces murmured, their discontent affected him not : great care was taken to conceal their misery, and prevent their complaints from reaching him. The capital and its environs were in a flourishing state : the rest was indifferent to him. It was probably rather from pomp than devotion that he undertook a pilgrimage of more than two hundred leagues. He was accompanied by all his women, and a train of sixty thousand men. The haram had never been so crowded before with women, girls, and eunuchs ; never had it been so expensive ; but though every thing was in abundance there, the troops were ill paid, and ammunition of all kinds deficient. No sooner were the generals appointed by the white faction arrived at their place of destination, than they were recalled by the black. There was neither solidity nor stability in the administration.

With respect to justice, it was dispensed in the following manner, by a nation who were, according to Shah Abbas the First, incapable of being governed by any system but that of terror.

It had been wisely ordained that the rich should be liable to inflictive punishments, and the less opulent to pecuniary fines. The eunuchs changed the original law for their own interest. Instead of the bastonade, they confiscated their wealth, subjected them to considerable fines, but continued them in their posts and employments; consequently they had the means of soon recovering their lost gains, and dividing them with the eunuchs. Governors, ministers, simple cadis, all were equally rapacious; neither were they very delicate in their modes of extortion. The higher magistrates may be judged by the inferior ones. One of the latter caught the ass of a private person feeding on a neighbouring vine. He condemned the owner to forfeit fifty crowns. The proprietor of the vine waited on the judge, and requested him to return the money, because between neighbours those things were not regarded. The sage magistrate, instead of repealing the sentence of the former, condemned the latter to a similar fine, "to teach him," said he, "to take care of his property." This worthy man when he apprehended any robbers used to permit them to ransom themselves, and if they had not the means of paying the tax he imposed on them, he would suffer them to leave the prison at night, that they might be able to pay him by committing other thefts. It was very difficult to disengage any thing from the gripe

of these harpies which they had once seized. An Armenian, whose house had been broken open, and who had sent the robber to prison, was informed, that to recover his loss it was necessary to prove by witnesses both the theft and the stolen goods. To avoid the chicanery that might ensue, he thought it the shorter way to come to a compromise with the thief himself, and endeavour to persuade him by the offer of a reward to confess the crime. He already believed himself certain of restitution, when the judge, turning towards him, said in an ironical tone—"What! have you no better witness to produce than a cheat, a thief? Go, go, my friend, bring me witnesses of some credit, good musfulmen, and not Armenians: then I will attend to you." The great roads, that under his predecessors were so secure, even against the overseers of the police themselves, in the reign of Husseyn were throughout infested with banditti. Complaints were fruitless; there was no redress to be expected. The only answer a merchant received who had met with a considerable loss was: "Point me out the robber, and I will oblige him to restore your property." The provoked merchant replied: "Put yourself in my place, and me into your's, and I will soon find the thief." Though the retort was so severe, the governor was not offended. The traveller who was eye-witness of these facts re-

marks on the occasion, that it can scarcely be conceived with what patience the Persians in office suffered the reproaches and insults that were daily offered them. They were as insensible to shame as to remorse. A governor who during the civil war had delivered up his fortrefs for a sum of money, was attending the emperor when he was attacking a town which gave him considerable trouble to reduce. The prince asked him what measures he should pursue. The governor coolly replied: " Endeavour to find a traitor like me."

History furnishes few examples of a dissolution so entire as that of the kingdom of Persia under the feeble inactive Huseyn; a dissolution the more extraordinary, as it began with the capital. The sopheri resided there in great tranquillity, subjected to the tyranny of his eunuchs, but of which he was unconscious, in the bustle of a corrupted administration, which he mistook for regularity, being little accustomed to reflect on the effects resulting from known abuses, because the resources of a powerful state are always sufficient for its immediate remedy. But, by continual errors, one at length took place which made him bitterly repent of all the rest. The province of Kandahar, situated between the Mogul dominions and Persia, alternately became the possession of either empire, according to the treatment it received. Its inhabitants were a

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warlike people, the greater part wandering, engaged in the cares of their flocks, consequently inured to fatigue; and divided into tribes, each under the government of a chieftain. The principal was that of the Afghans. This nation, such as described, surrounded by a chain of mountains, which defended them, demanded some little attention; but the minister of Persia, little suspecting the event, respected them no more than the others. Rapacious governors were sent them, who loaded them with taxes, and oppressed them on every occasion. They murmured, vented their complaints aloud, and clearly shewed their inclination to rebel.

Husseyn wished the complaints of the Afghans to be redressed; but as he had no determined will, the party in the council who were for subduing them by rigour prevailed. Gurghinkhan, formerly governor of Georgia, was dispatched thither. He was a very severe man, invested with absolute authority, and attended by an excellent corps of Georgian soldiers. He entered Kandahar as if it had been a conquered country, let loose his troops, who committed every species of violence on the inhabitants. The chiefs he reserved for himself, and made them severely feel the weight of his domination. One of the most considerable, named Mir-Weis, particularly attracted his attention. His birth, generosity, a complaisant and popular demeanor,

and some marks of an ambitious mind, roused Gurghin-khan's suspicions. He had him apprehended, and sent to Ispahan as a man of a turbulent spirit, suspected of having been the fomenter of the late troubles, and very capable of exciting new ones.

Mir-Weis soon perceived the factions of the court, and imagined that great advantages might accrue from a proper management of them. All the ministry were not devoted to Gurghin-khan: there were some among them certainly jealous of the great power intrusted to him. Mir-Weis attached himself to that party. He had the address to render the governor himself an object of suspicion; and did not despair of becoming master of Kandahar, by being appointed to watch his motions. On his arrival in his country he forbore to assume the importance or air of a man certain of success; on the contrary, he flattered the governor, and endeavoured to gain his favour; but that was a point he could not accomplish. Gurghin-khan always regarded him with a jealous eye; and could not pardon him for returning back again, as if to brave him. The better to conquer his dislike, Mir-Weis counterfeited devotion, and undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca.

On his return, he found the governor's doubts so entirely dissipated, and his persuasion so fixed that he had nothing to fear from so holy a personage, that he hesitated not to affront him.

Mir-Weis suffered his arrogance patiently, watching for some insult sufficiently serious to induce the other chiefs to espouse his quarrel. At length this looked-for event happened: Gurghin-khan having heard much of the beauty of Mir-Weis's daughter, ordered him to send her to his haram. Mir-Weis assembled the principal persons of his tribe, and other chieftains whom he could intrust, and informed them of the demand, which highly exasperated them. They concerted their measures together; and instead of his daughter, he sent another young girl, who was well instructed in the part she was to act; which was the less difficult, because in Persia the bride is never seen prior to the marriage. He then invited the governor to a feast in his tent. Gurghin-khan, unsuspicious of danger, accepted the party of pleasure proposed by his son-in-law: but this complaisance cost him his life. No sooner was he massacred than Mir-Weis presented himself at the gates of Kandahar; where the garrison, deprived of its commander, made a very slight resistance. During a period of fourteen years Mir-Weis harassed the Persians, and was equally proof against their arms and their insidious offers. His good conduct, his harangues, and his victories, united the other tribes to that of the Afghans, of which he was the leader. He died king of Kandahar, leaving the crown to Abdallah, his brother, as he thought his child-

ren too young to wield the sceptre of an unstable throne.

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Abdallah had neither his brother's genius, his ambition, nor intrepidity. A love of tranquillity induced him to listen to the propositions of the Persians, who by granting some very advantageous conditions were once more to be put in possession of Kandahar. The treaty was on the point of being signed, when Mahmud, the son of Mir-Weis, a youth of eighteen years old, heard with indignation of his uncle's weakness. At the head of thirty or forty of his father's friends he entered the palace, cut off Abdallah's head, and was proclaimed king. It is not known whether the youthful monarch found the project of invading Persia among his father's papers, whether it was suggested by the confidents of Mir-Weis, or whether he himself conceived the idea. It is, however, proper to observe, that its execution was facilitated by a variety of circumstances. The inhabitants of Herat, Mahmud's neighbours, also had shaken off the Persian yoke, and had formed themselves into a republic. The Kurds, an unsettled people, in the vicinity of Hamadan, carried their depredations to the very walls of Ispahan. The Usbec Tartars and the Leshians, as in concert, poured from the shores of the Caspian sea, and penetrated into the very centre of the empire. Huseyn, attacked from every quarter, knew not

which first to oppose; and Mahmud took advantage of these commotions to strengthen himself on the throne. He disciplined his Afghans, and led them on to different expeditions, sometimes near, sometimes distant, where they alternately met with that good and bad success which is sure to form brave soldiers. He also took care to encourage the religious hatred which, as sunni, sectaries of Omar, they felt towards the Persians, who were the sectaries of Ali. A revolution rarely succeeds unless mixed with the enthusiasm of bigotry.

Mahmud's progress at last became so terrifying, that Husseyn determined to turn the whole force of his arms against him. He assembled one of the best armies that Persia had for a long time seen, less formidable for the number of the troops than for their valour. Being incapable from inexperience, and his very advanced age, to command in person, he appointed one of his sons, who was only seventeen years of age, his generalissimo, persuaded that the presence of the heir to the throne would be a powerful stimulus to engage the soldiers and chieftains to distinguish themselves. The young prince was put under the direction of Soffi Kuli Khan, a very able general, who, disgusted with the abuses of the court, had retired from it, but had returned and submitted to the existing circumstances. Husseyn had likewise

a man of great ability, integrity, and disinterestedness, in his council, named Fatey Ali Khan, to whom he gave the post of prime-minister.

Under the conduct of these two men, each of them eminent in his station, and on terms of good intelligence, the empire might have supported itself; but a court cabal caused the general to be recalled, and the vizier appointed another of his own choice, named Luft Ali Khan. The faction, convinced that they should never be masters of the army, and sway the mind of the young prince, as long as the vizier was in place, turned their weapons against him, and so successfully calumniated him to the sophi, that he sentenced him to lose his sight. At the same time they arrested the general, and the army dispersed.

All these events were extremely propitious to Mahmud. Fortified in the rocks of Kandahar, he received a faithful account of the transactions of the court, and watched a favourable moment to accomplish the design he had been meditating during the space of five or six years. This prince was not ignorant that the towns and provinces were divided in opinion, which division it had been the policy of Abbas the First to foment and encourage, the more effectually to secure his power; but those civil dissensions, though useful while tempered by an authority

ufficiently strong to restrain them within just bounds, became destructive to the government as soon as they were released from their accustomed curb. Each of them lost the desire of union; they little concerned themselves to what party they belonged; and Mahmud was certain of finding, if not friends, in the provinces he should pass, at least a people totally indifferent concerning the event. • The court intrigues furnished him also with the most flattering hopes of success. In fine, from the wreck of the late great army a very considerable one had been formed, and at its head was placed a general who had been governor of Arabia; a man who was either unskilful or treacherous, such an one as Mahmud himself would have chosen for his own advantage.

Strengthened by all those circumstances, Mahmud suffered his intention to be discovered, which till then he had concealed. He adorned it in the eyes of the people with every attractive appearance:—its facility, the lure of plunder, the glory of rendering his religion triumphant over those imperious heretics, who till then had been their tormentors. They hastened in crowds to his standard; but out of this mixed multitude he only inrolled twenty-five thousand men, who were inured to war, capable of supporting fatigue, and accustomed to long and rapid marches. The soldiers he lost in his march by

skirmishes he replaced by others of the same stamp, whom he chose from among those who offered. With this army, composed of the bravest troops, he arrived at a place but four days' journey from Ispahan. The Persians sent to propose terms of accommodation to him, which were so advantageous, that he thence inferred the weakness of the court, and rejected them.

Having conducted his forces to the walls of the city, he found a very numerous army ready to oppose him, but commanded by the same governor of Arabia, from whom he had every thing to hope. The emperor had the choice of two alternatives, either to venture a battle, or to intrench himself without the town, and there wait the arrival of the succours which had been promised by the provinces, of which several troops were then on their march, leaving Mahmud to exhaust his strength in his camp, with the risk of dying of hunger. That was the most prudent opinion, but it was not that of the general. He was determined to fight though he ought not; and when he did engage he behaved so unskillfully, that even Mahmud himself was astonished at his victory. Consternation entered the city with the flying troops, and with them also famine, which their great numbers, and the people of the provinces whom they imprudently admitted, soon increased to a most deplorable excess. Hus-

seyn would have quitted it, but that was another prudent measure which his council opposed.

The sophi, by confining himself to his capital, was resolved not to immure there also the hopes of the kingdom and of his family. He had declared his eldest son Abbas Mirza, the same who had already been placed at the head of the army, his successor, and delegate of his authority. That young prince, naturally impetuous, thinking dissimulation beneath his character, began the exercise of his power by commanding the governor of Arabia, that general, either so unfortunate or so perfidious, to be put to death. He likewise condemned several other nobles who were at least suspected; but the proscribed party found means to include him in his father's disgrace, and once more confined him to the haram whence he had been taken. Instead of him, Safi Mirza, the second son, was nominated. After a few days he was thought too feeble. The third was too devout; and at length the crown was adjudged to Tahmasp Mirza, the fourth. They next concerted measures to convey him from the city, as well to secure his personal safety, that he might serve as a rallying point for the troops that were expected from the provinces. Authors speak only of one governor who was advancing with an army of ten thousand men. His approach alarmed Mah-

mud, as the smallest check would have entirely ruined him. He dispatched to meet that general, not soldiers, but negociators, who by dint of promises gained him over to his party. Re-assured on that side, he continued the siege, which he converted into a blockade.

There was a greater portion of human flesh eaten in that siege than had ever been consumed on any former occasion; and it is asserted that the besieged did not only confine themselves to the bodies of those who died naturally, or of their wounds: the rest of their wants were in proportion. The misery of his people pierced the feeling heart of the unfortunate Husseyn. He offered Mahmud the most advantageous conditions; viz. his daughter in marriage, and the sovereignty of three fertile provinces. Mahmud returned for answer: "The king of Persia offers me nothing that is not at my disposal; that prince and princess are already in my power; he is no longer the master of the three provinces he offers. The present dispute is, whether he or I shall have possession of the empire." Yet, notwithstanding this firm and even decisive reply, he suffered the king to entertain some hopes, to prevent his hastily terminating the treaty; for being conscious that there could be no security for him in Ispahan as long as the number of his troops should be surpassed by that of the inhabitants, he waited

till wretchedness should diminish them; and as soon as he saw the desired proportion nearly established, he agreed to the unhappy sophi's abdication.

Before the last ceremony took place, Husseyn, in a mourning habit, went through the principal streets of Isfahan on foot, deploring the misfortunes of his reign, and consoling the people who surrounded him, by endeavouring to give them hope of a better lot under a new government. He had, at least, the satisfaction of finding himself both pitied and regretted; for every one treated him respectfully. Mahmud sent him horses to convey him to his camp, as there were none in the city, and the sorrowful monarch began his march, followed by about three hundred of the chief nobility, who moved slowly on with downcast eyes. The small number of inhabitants who could support the sight of this mournful cavalcade expressed their grief by a solemn silence.

He was introduced into a hall, where Mahmud, a young man of twenty-five years of age, expected him. In entering he first saluted his conqueror, who returned his salute; they then advanced towards each other, and Husseyn began the conversation in these terms: "My son, "since it is the will of the sovereign Master of "the universe that I should reign no longer, "and the appointed day for thee to ascend

“ the throne of Persia is arrived, I remit the
“ empire into thy hands with all my heart, and
“ I sincerely wish thee a prosperous reign.” At
the same time taking the royal egret from his tur-
ban, he fixed it himself on that of Mahmud, say-
ing—“ Reign in peace.” Tea and coffee were
then served, and the Afghan prince addressed
the following words to the dethroned king :
“ Such is the instability of human grandeur.
“ God disposes of empires according to his
“ will ; he wrests them from one nation to give
“ them to another ; but I promise always to con-
“ sider you as my father.” After this speech he
was conducted to an apartment that had been pre-
pared for his reception ; the Afghans took pos-
session of the gates of the city and palace ; and
thus terminated the dynasty of the Sophis or Sasis,
founded by Ismael two hundred and twenty-three
years before. Huseyn reigned twenty-eight.

In dispossessing Huseyn, Mahmud avenged
himself of all those who had contributed to the
ruin of the state, either by negligence, ignorance,
party-spirit, cowardice, or treason. The only
person he pardoned was the general suspected
of secret intelligence with the Afghan prince ;
his impunity seemed to proclaim his guilt ; all
the rest were deprived of life, liberty, or wealth,
by Mahmud's justice. He confirmed the Per-
sians in their dignities and employments, and
gave each an adjunct of his nation, except the

Mahmud,
1722.

post of grand-vizier, which he filled with an Afghan alone. He indeed reduced Hufsey's expenses, particularly of his seraglio, but he always continued towards him the personal-respect due to his former state. That prince gave him his daughter in marriage; and on the occasion addressed a circular letter, or proclamation, to all Persia, in which he enjoined the inhabitants to acknowledge Mahmud for sole monarch.

But Tahmasp his son, because he had lost the capital, did not think himself obliged to obey his father's letter; on the contrary, he was proclaimed in Kasbin, a town of Irak, whither he had retired. Several governors supplied him with troops, but he did not prosecute the war with the energy and ardour which his age and cause seemed to promise. Circumstances, however, were favourable to him, for Mahmud's conduct began to inspire hatred in his subjects. To conceal a defeat he ordered public rejoicings as if he had gained a victory; and to prevent the possibility of his being exposed to an insurrection in the capital, without any motive but his cruelty, he caused the ministers, noblemen, and other principal Persian chieftains, to be massacred at a feast to which he had invited them. Two hundred young men were taken from the academy where they were educated, and most inhumanly butchered. Three thousand soldiers of

Hussey'n's troops, whom the usurper had taken into his service, suffered the same fate. Nor did he rest there: he commanded all those to be put to death who, having received pay, could be accounted soldiers. In fine, he secretly made away with a great number of the inhabitants of Ispahan able to bear arms, and took every possible means to extort vast sums of money,

The Afghans were on discordant terms among themselves. Some of the leaders complained because Mahmud had possessed himself of all, regardless of the promise he had made that the spoils should be divided. They, however, continued to serve under him; but no longer with that enthusiasm which insures constant success. Mahmud therefore experienced several discomfitures; of which Tahmasp might have profited, could he have overcome his natural indolence, and had he not been necessitated at the same time to oppose the Turks and Russians, who gaining information of the internal commotions which rent Persia, revived some ancient pretensions, and entered, by different sides, that unhappy country. Russia then began to adopt that artful policy which has since so much distinguished her. After conveying terror by an ostentatious display of formidable forces, she condescended to negotiate a peace, by which she acquired what her arms, probably, could not have procured her. Tahmasp endeavoured also to free

himself from the Turks by similar means, but found himself supplanted by the Russians, who, notwithstanding their agreement with him, had entered into a treaty with the Turks, in which was confirmed and secured to them all the advantages gained by their negociation with Thamasp, on condition of their not opposing the invasion which the musfulmen meditated. Tahmasp therefore, being unable to acquiesce in proposals which would have stripped him of a portion of his kingdom, was constrained to prosecute the war against the Turks.

But though the enterprizes of those powers caused Tahmasp much just inquietude, the conduct of Mahmud inspired him with hope. That prince was preparing his own downfall. The Afghans accused him of contemning their austere morals, of preferring the luxury and indolence of the Persians, and even of betraying a partiality for their religion. He had a cousin-german named Ashraf, the son of Abdallah his uncle, whom he always considered with an eye of jealousy. This tormenting sentiment was increased by some successes the young prince had obtained, and the affection which his countrymen expressed towards him. Mahmud confined him without any lawful pretext: the Afghans were much displeased at this act of violence. Disgusted with their chief, they no longer fought with their wonted valour. Mahmud attributed

his defeats rather to the anger of Heaven than to the discouragement of his soldiers ; and, to appease its wrath, determined to perform a spiritual exercise, called *riadhiat*, which had been introduced into Kandahar by the Indian mahometans.

The *riadhiat* is performed in the following manner. The penitent, during fifteen days, shuts himself up in a place where the day cannot penetrate. In that interval he is constantly employed in repeating in a loud deep-toned voice the word *Hu*, which expresses one of the attributes of God ; his only food the while consisting of a little bread and water after sun-set. This continual agitation of the body, accompanied by loud cries, deranges the whole system. When through fasting and remaining in darkness he has fallen into a species of delirium, he fancies he sees spectres, and hears supernatural voices ; and it is believed that in the course of this penance, the devil is obliged by a superior power to reveal futurity to him.

It appears that Mahmud's *riadhiat* deranged his senses. He saw himself surrounded only by conspirators and traitors. He was informed that Saffi Mirza, Huseyn's eldest son, had escaped from the palace. Without further examination, he ordered all the princes, their hands tied behind their back, to be conducted into a courtyard, where he, and some of his confidants,

flew them with their sabres. The wretched father, hearing their cries, hastened to the spot just in time to save the lives of his two youngest sons, the eldest of whom was only five years old. His hand was wounded in endeavouring to avert the stroke. On seeing the blood of Husseyn flow, whom he was habituated to respect, the assassin stopped. Nearly an hundred are said to have been massacred; which is not surprising, since none of Husseyn's predecessors had so many women; and sometimes no fewer than thirty cradles have been carried to the haram in the course of a month.

Mahmud's lunacy was accompanied with a very painful malady, which induced him to have recourse not only to physicians, but every superstitious remedy mentioned to him. These, whether christian or mussulman, were of little consequence; they none of them possessed any efficacy. His sufferings increased his cruelty. His captains, seeing themselves on the point of wanting a chief, in a kingdom far from subdued, turned their thoughts on Ashraf: but he refused the crown, except on condition that the head of his cousin, the murderer of his father, should be brought to him. Mahmud was then in the last state of phrenzy, and had only a few hours to live: these, however, were abridged.

The destroyer of the Shah dynasty enjoyed his triumph but two years, and was only twenty-

seven at his death. He was neither handsome nor well made: his head was much sunk in his shoulders. He had a broad face, flat nose, very little beard, rather carrotty, a savage and harsh look, and was disagreeable in his whole person. His eyes were usually cast on the ground; and he had the air of a man always deep in thought. Mahmud had but one wife: he slept little, was attentive to business, indefatigable, intrepid in attack; but easily dispirited by misfortune. His expedition against Ispahan was rash and extravagant; its success alone could justify it. He is mentioned as formed for making conquests; but deficient in the qualities necessary for insuring their stability.

Ashraf ordered all Mahmud's guard, his ministers, and confidants, to be put to death. He did not even spare those who had placed him on the throne, most probably from the fear of their performing a similar service to some other person. Mahmud's only son, and likewise his mother, suffered the same fate. Become an object of detestation by these tyrannic executions, which had reduced his partisans to a very small number, and considerably diminished his army, in the apprehension that he should not be able to support his tottering throne, he offered to restore Huseyn to his former dignity. He no doubt intended to retire to Kandahar, and there establish a sovereignty proportionate to his means;

Ashraf, 1725.

but the sophi was too well content to be freed from the cares of government, to wish to resume them. He refused it. Ashraf completed the satisfaction of the deposed prince, by appointing him superintendant of his buildings. Husseyn in recompense gave him one of his daughters in marriage. At the time the father refused to accept the crown, it happened that Tahmasp, his son, had found unexpected succours to enable him to dispute it. That prince had retreated into one of the provinces of the empire, where he lived dependent on the governor. While he remained in that degraded situation, Nadir Kuli made him an offer of his services, and a body of five thousand cavalry that were under his command. This Nadir was a famous warrior, who, after having reconquered Persia, under the Afghans and the Turks, usurped the throne. According to the most authentic records he was the son of a chieftain of a tribe, and inured to arms from his early youth; but to embellish his history, it is reported that his father was a poor labourer; and that until the age of thirteen he himself had been accustomed to pick up wood, which he used to load on a camel, the whole riches of his family, and sell at the public market. He was taken captive by the Usbek Tartars, made his escape, became a robber, then the flatterer of a merchant, seduced the daughter, killed the father, once more turned high-

way robber, was then cashier to a nobleman, and distinguished himself in his master's suite by some valourous actions, on which occasion he obtained the rank of colonel, but afterwards experienced a rebuff from the court, which made him, for the third time, return to his old trade of robbing, though he was a robber of the first quality, plundering castles and caravans, and laying the provinces under contribution.

This was his employ when he tendered his services to Tahmasp. In the very first campaign he acquired an ascendent over Ashraf and the Afghans, which he never after lost. His reputation soon increased the army of the shah, who appointed him his generalissimo. After an almost decisive victory, the prince, as a testimony of his regard, conferred on him the greatest honour in his power, his own name, Tahmasp, or Thamas, to which was added the one he before bore, whence was formed that of Thamas Kouli Khan, under which he rendered himself so renowned. In three campaigns he made Tahmasp master of all the possessions of the Afghans in Persia, compelled them to retreat into the desolated parts of the country, where, both recruits and provisions failing them, their army gradually wasted away. Ashraf offered to abdicate, and to return all the treasures he had inherited after Mahmud's death; but Kouli Khan would listen to no overture of pacification what-

ever, and continued to pursue him with unremitting rancour. With two hundred men who remained with him the prince defended himself with the desperate courage of despair; but at length was defeated and slain. In him ended the transitory dynasty of the Afghans.

Thamasp,
1730.

After having destroyed the usurpers in the centre of the empire, and re-established Thamasp on the throne, the general marched against the Turks, and retook the places on the frontiers which they had conquered during the disturbances. His intention was to grant them no more quarter than he had done the Afghans; but without his knowledge, and when he the least expected it, the king negotiated a peace with them, by which he acknowledged the Ottoman emperor sole iman, and chief of the musulman religion; an honour which Ashraf, in the midst of his distress, had had the firmness to deny him. He ceded to him several provinces. Believing himself secured by this treaty, the king dismissed the few forces who were with him, and commanded his general to disband his army; but instead of implicitly obeying, Kouli Khan assembled his officers, declaimed against the peace as a treason of the minister, who must have been actuated by some evil intention in yielding so many fine provinces to the Turks, while the nation had an army on foot sufficient to have humiliated them.

These sentiments, which appeared the effusions of patriotic enthusiasm, gained him the affection of the army. He marched towards Ispahan at the head of seventy thousand men, chiefly Tartars, on whom he could depend. Being arrived in the vicinity of the capital, he waited on the king, convinced him that he had been deceived by his perfidious counsellors, nearly in the same manner as Housseyn his father had been by his. Tahmasp coincided in the truth of his assertion; but the general perceiving none of that wrath against the offenders with which he desired to inspire him, conceived the idea that it might be possible to sacrifice him himself. He concerted his measures with his principal officers, invited the king to a review, and from thence to a feast, whence the prince, overcome by the fumes of wine, was conveyed, under the conduct of a strong guard, into a distant apartment; his own guard was disarmed, and his attendants arrested. The following day Koulî Khan convoked the ministers of state and the chief captains. He then proceeded to represent to them the monarch's incapacity, and the fatal consequences of the peace, unless he were deposed. His advice was approved; the infant son of Tahmasp was introduced, the oath of fidelity taken to him, and he was proclaimed emperor by the name of Abbas III.

Abbas III.
Thamas
Kouli Khan,
or, Shah Na-
dir, 1733.

Under a prince of six months old, Thamas Kouli Khan could not fail to be the real sovereign of Persia. He disposed of every thing as suited his inclination; and, it must be confessed, for the glory and advantage of the nation. The Turks were defeated, and sued for peace; which the regent would consent to grant only on condition of their restoring their usurpations, and confining themselves to their ancient limits. Within the space of six months the infant emperor died. Kouli Khan once more assembled the governors, great officers, and generals, and proposed reinstating Tahmasp on the throne, if they thought him capable of holding the reins of government. Kouli Khan was entreated by all present to accept the sovereignty; and consented on three conditions, namely: that the crown should be declared hereditary in his family; that no person should become the partisan of the late imperial house; and that they should no longer execrate Omar, Osman, and Abu Becr, nor assemble themselves together to commemorate the death of Houssein the son of Ali.

The latter clause, which established a kind of toleration for the sect of the Sonnites, whom the Persians held in detestation, was that which met with the most opposition. The chief of the prevailing religion ventured some remonstrances on the subject; and Nadir immediately ordered him to be strangled. He then convoked the principals

of that body, and thus addressed them: "Your
" prayers not having prevented the calamities
" of the nation, is a proof that they were not
" acceptable to God. My soldiers, who reme-
" died them, are the men who truly are worthy
" of being invested with the church revenues."

In consequence of this decision he confiscated all the clerical property, and immediately after published an edict for the union of the Shiites and the Sonnites. He then took the name of Shah Nadir.

The reign of this prince was a reign of glory and conquest. His government was absolutely despotic; by the aid of an army of Tartars, and other martial and independent tribes, whom he always kept near him. The Persians enjoyed but a very limited authority, and were constantly watched with a jealous eye. They bore the yoke in silence, but with a secret indignation, which the emperor knew full well; and which was an additional reason for him to increase their load, the more effectually to curb their spirit. It is said that, wearied of the precautions he was obliged to take, he had formed the design of dispelling his fears by a general massacre of the principal Persians. The project was discovered, and the menaced party assembled. The conspirators were in the midst of a powerful army devoted to the Shah. It was necessary to force a faithful guard; they were neither acquainted

with the situation of his tent, nor knew how to distinguish it from the rest.

Despair surmounted every obstacle. Five only in number penetrated into the royal inclosure, killed an eunuch and an old woman, entered the pavilion, and distinguished the emperor by the glitter of the diamonds with which he was always covered. He put himself into a posture of defense, and slew two of the conspirators, when a third gave him a mortal wound. He exclaimed: "Spare me, and I pardon you all!" "No," replied a fourth, "thou hast never shewed mercy to any one, and we will shew none to thee." With these words they severed his head from his body.

1747.

No sooner was his death known than the Tartars flew to arms, and rushed on the Persians, who on their side valiantly defended themselves. Five thousand men fell in the action. The army dispersed, and spread themselves over the provinces, whither they carried tumult, confusion, and anarchy, which since that period have desolated that illfated kingdom, continually a prey to civil broils. Shah Nadir, better known in Europe under the name of Kouli Khan, reigned fourteen years. His achievements in India, of which we shall speak hereafter, have acquired him immortal fame. He had an agreeable, though imperious air, particularly when he spoke; a very robust constitu-

tion, and was six feet in height. To an extraordinary memory, he joined an uncommon presence of mind, which impelled him to act with as much promptitude as he thought. History is silent on the fate both of Shah Huseyn, and that of Tahmasp, but it is not difficult to conjecture. Those sovereigns who can consent to descend from a throne, however pacific may be their disposition, have no right to expect a life exempt from violence. Thamas Kouli Khan spared not those who might be dangerous; but at least he cannot be reproached with ever having, like the greater part of his predecessors, massacred any person in cold blood, or with his own hand.

Notwithstanding their civil wars, the Persians still compose a national body; the Turks, their constant enemies, find in them no dastardly adversaries; and among the princes who successively fill so fluctuating a throne are not unfrequently some whose actions revive the faded glory of their country, and force respect from their surrounding neighbours.

ORMUS.

The kingdom of Ormus extended along the coasts of Persia and Arabia, and comprehended all the islands situated in the Persian Gulph. It is at present reduced to an island five leagues distant from the land on the Persian side, and

Ormuz, in
the Persian
Gulph.

nine on the Arabian. It was formerly volcanic; and the eruptions have left it extremely rugged. Vast quantities of sulphur and mineral salt are found there, but of too corrosive a nature to be employed for salting provisions: the rivers and fountains are also salt. Almost all the fresh water is procured from the main land; but in the neighbourhood of an island at no great distance they go and fetch it from the bottom of the ocean, in vessels constructed in such a manner as to be exactly closed so as to keep out the salt water. This also is the place where oysters are found which produce the finest pearls in the world; the diver plunges to the depth of ten or twelve feet to procure them. The excessive heat of Ormus is almost incredible to those persons who have never experienced it; longevity however is not unfrequent there; the air is good, and much more salubrious than on the coast of Persia, which the inhabitants are compelled to quit during the hot weather, and breathe the cool gales of the mountains. Notwithstanding the salt water, the island feeds considerable quantities of game, antelopes, foxes, and other animals, who apparently can live without fresh water.

The era in which the ancient city of Ormus, built on the shores of Persia, ceased to exist, is nearly fixed by the wars which destroyed it and removed its empire to the island at the beginning

of the fourteenth century. One of the kings of the first kingdom has left the history of his predecessors. The foes to royalty will see with surprize, and perhaps refuse their belief, that nine excellent princes reigned there successively. This state originally aggrandized itself by commerce. Commerce both supported and rendered it an object of envy and caused its decline. It had maintained itself in a flourishing situation, notwithstanding the wars of princes who separately asserted their pretensions to its small sovereignty. Twenty-seven had followed in uninterrupted succession, when the Portuguese, desirous of exclusively engrossing the commerce of that part of Asia, attacked Ormus, and subdued it in 1514. Under their dominion the natural kings preserved their authority, but much weakened and contracted, as vassals to the king of Portugal, during a series of an hundred and fourteen years, until 1622, when the Persians, aided by the English, took possession of Ormus.

TURKMANS.

The denomination of Turkmans or Turkomans Turkmans, near the Caspian sea. is of a similar derivation with the name of Turks. Their countenance and manners shew them to be of Tartar origin. Their face is flat and tawny. They seldom inhabit towns unless compelled by necessity; and by choice are wandering; shepherds rather than husbandmen; unsettled,

warlike, and impatient of constraint. From the vicinity of the Caspian sea, whence they emerged, it is difficult to follow them in their emigrations through Persia, Turkey, on the frontiers, and into the centre of Asia, over the mountains of Armenia, through the unmeasured plains watered by the Euphrates, whose navigation they infest, at the same time that they plunder the caravans on land. They are divided into orientals and occidentals. They have retained the patrimony of families, and the knowledge of their descent. Two among their number have made conquests, and given birth to sovereigns. They distinguish themselves by the title of black sheep, and white sheep, from the colour of the animals painted on their ensigns. Nadir Shah, of whom we have lately treated, was of the race of the eastern Turkmans. The western also have produced warriors, whose expeditions have been less renowned for their extent, but whose achievements imply intrepidity, valour, and capacity. This nation is active, and never idle. The women either spin on their camels or else grind the corn with a hand-mill which these animals carry. Their language is usually that of the countries they inhabit;—the Turkish in Turkey, Persian in Persia;—but every-where intermixed with some primitive words, and pronounced with a harshness of expression which seems to be original. They profess mehometism,

but without much attending to its enjoined duties. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the white sheep tribe reckoned up to thirteen chiefs who had succeeded each other in Diarbekir, where they had founded a kingdom of considerable extent. Vast numbers of them still inhabit it, but in subjection to the Kussilbashis, or Persians, who put their last prince to death.

USBEKS.

The Usbek Tartars likewise come from the neighbourhood of the Caspian sea. What might be said of their countenance, character, and religion, would be merely a repetition of the account just given of the Turkmen. One thing worthy of remark is, that they lived peaceably under three sovereigns, the grandfather, father, and son, who were not only accounted stupid, but whom history calls even imbecile. The latter to that engaging quality joined those of devotee and great hunter. This dynasty reigned in Bukharia, and another in Karazm.

Usbeks of
Bukharia
and of Ka-
razm.

Karazm is chiefly composed of sandy tracts like Great Tartary. It is fertile wherever it is watered. Its water-melons are reputed excellent, are transported to a considerable distance, and boast the property of having no pernicious qualities though eaten to excess. This country

Karazm be-
tween the
Kalmuks,
Great Buk-
haria, the
deserts of
Karak, and
the river
Ama.

is divided by two large rivers, which fall into the Caspian sea; and a third, discharged into a great lake, which is no more swelled by the confluence of its waters than the ocean, with which it has no communication, overflows from the vast rivers it receives. This country is said to contain twenty provinces. Formerly there were many towns, but these at present are much declined from their ancient grandeur, which they owed to commerce; and which the Usbeks are so far from cultivating, that they even avoid all communication with those nations that might render it flourishing. They carried their precautions on this head to so great a length, as to turn the course of a large stream which flowed into the Caspian sea, whose mouth formed an excellent harbour. Of another port which remains they make little use, and it is only by stratagem, and much against their inclination, that the Russians maintain some correspondence there.

Prior to the Usbeks it is thought that this country was inhabited by the Sartes, whose customs and character are unknown; but they were most probably formed from a mixture of Persians, Arabs, and Turks; over whom at length the Usbek Tartars acquired the ascendant. They are a still more unpolished and unsettled race than the people of Great Bukharia. The most excellent pasturage can only fix their roving fancy so long as from thence they can dart

upon the neighbouring territories, and make slaves of the natives, which constitutes their chief wealth. If they cannot light on any strangers to plunder, they rob each other. The Usbeks in reality lead the life of banditti, destitute of all acquirements and knowledge, idle, and solely employed in frivolous conversation, until the moment when the signal for pillage rouses them from their lethargy, when all the horde start up, and put themselves in motion. They are strangers to bread, and great devourers of flesh, especially that of the horse. Their chief drink is mares' milk, which they have the art of rendering inebriating. In hunting the wild horses, which are very numerous in their plains, they make use of birds of prey. These strike their talons either into the animal's head or neck; and while he is fatiguing himself with the vain attempt of shaking off the enemy, the hunter advances, and kills him with ease. This country is constantly agitated by cabals formed by the multitude of their princes' children, who all assert their pretensions to the throne. The part of their history which has any claim to regularity begins with the date of the sixteenth century.

But the succession of seventeen khans, or chiefs of these wandering hordes, until the commencement of the eighteenth century, presents very few remarkable events. These consist of expe-

ditions against each other, rapid marches, surprises, bloody battles between a handful of men disputing about a hillock of green and vegetable earth in the midst of barren wastes. It is true that the human passions are the grand springs of action in these petty courts as in mighty empires. They had their ambitious designs, cabals, cruelties, fratricides, even parricides; but we are less acquainted with them than those that occur in powerful states. We will remark a ceremony practised by Din Mahammed, seventh khan. When on the point of rushing on the enemy's battalions, that he might inspire his rather backward troops to support him, he took a handful of dust, strewed it over his head, and exclaimed: "I dedicate my soul to God, and my body to the earth." He charged, was followed, and obtained the victory.

Hajim, the twelfth khan, chastised one of his sons, who was yet a youth, for having suffered a countryman to kill one of his fatted sheep to treat him. "I am fifty years of age," said he, "and never has it happened to me to engage any person to be at such an expense. If the peasants are obliged to kill sheep while you are young, they will be compelled to give you cows and horses when you are older. Others will wish to follow the example, and it will be a means of reducing them all to beggary." This trait, at the same time that it inculcates simplicity of manners, is a lesson for governors

and princes. There should be nothing neglected in the childhood of those whom remonstrance, perhaps, may never after dare approach during the remainder of their lives. This same Hajim was so much feared and respected by his subjects, that, says the historian, "Had he forbidden them seeing their wives for the space of a year, they would have obeyed his orders; and would even have avoided going near their dwellings, that they might not give the smallest shadow of suspicion."

The Russians who traversed this country to trade with China in 1724 conjectured that the Usbek khan could bring two thousand horse into the field; but that is the whole amount of his male subjects both young and old. In the last revolution of which we have any knowledge, nearly about that period, the son deposed his father, and deprived him of sight. We may form an idea of more remote ones by this latter.

INDIA.

We meet with the Tartars again in India; and whither have they not penetrated, attracted by the mildness of the climate, and the hope of plunder? These rich and delightful countries offered a double lure to the Tartars in the vicinity of India. A very considerable portion of Asia is thus denominated, whose boun-

daries are Great and Little Thibet, the Indian sea, China, the Chinese sea, Persia, and the Eastern ocean. This vast region is divided into three parts; the western peninsula within the river Ganges, the eastern beyond the Ganges, and the continent. The latter is subject to one monarch, known in Europe under the title of the great-mogul, and his empire is called Hindoostan.

HINDOOSTAN.

Hindoostan, between Great and Little Thibet, the peninsula beyond, and the peninsula within, the Ganges, the Indian Sea, the Gulph of Bengal and Persia.

There is no country on the earth so favoured by nature as India in general, and Hindoostan in particular. Its extent comprehends every climate, and all the varieties of nature—the frigid cold of the north, the burning heats of the south, extensive chains of mountains, immense plains, large rivers, an infinite number of less considerable ones, and smaller streams. The south wind blows with little variation during one six months of the year, and the north wind during the other. The seasons are nearly regular in this vast region. From Surat to Agra it never rains except from the middle of June to the middle of September, but it is then a deluge which fertilizes the earth, and which begins and ends with dreadful tempests, succeeded by a settled calm. During these nine months there are astonishing changes from heat to cold; a scorching day is sometimes followed by a

night so freezing as to cover with ice the surface of the water, and to such a night frequently succeeds a day as hot as the preceding.

India is rich in every production, fossil, mineral, vegetable, and animal. There only are diamonds found; and if elsewhere there are precious stones, they yield to those of India. The bowels of the mountains conceal marble equal in beauty to the most admired. This country is neither destitute of iron, copper, nor lead. It is thought that there are mines of gold and silver there; but if there be, it is unnecessary to work them, for America drains her mines for India, and Africa gathers from her rivers gold for this empire, which refuses any other pay for her merchandize, and, wanting none from other nations, keeps what she receives.

Every kind of grain grows in abundance, and without much labour. India, besides many sorts of our fruit, has a great number of others peculiar to the soil. The same proportion obtains in the vegetables, flowers, roots, and trees;—a few of ours, and a multitude of her own. Game is very common; there is found almost all that which we serve on our tables, and other birds and quadrupeds quite unknown to us. This country, so well watered and bathed by the sea, abounds with fishes of every species. The elephant, whose reason is supposed superior to his strength, and the rhinoceros, here first see the

light, and combat for pre-eminence; the jackal prowls around the graves, and devours the buried carcases; the lion, the tiger, and the leopard, appal the traveller in the deserts; the wolf maintains a constant war with the flocks and herds, which consist of cattle in general having a protuberance on their back, and of sheep which drag after them a tail, or a fat and cartilaginous substance, weighing from fifteen to twenty pounds. Besides elephants there are buffaloes, dromedaries, and camels, which carry great burthens; the latter and horses are used in travelling: the asses are strong and handsome; the musk animal is not uncommon; and the monkeys, who serve no useful purpose, are very numerous. As if nature would omit no part of her various productions, here also are found poisonous plants, venomous insects, and dangerous reptiles.

India is computed to contain twenty provinces, whose capitals, chiefly founded by their sovereigns, have palaces bearing evidence of their former splendour. It is a singular fact, and worthy observation, that two provinces at the lower part of the Ganges, inhabited by pirates, robbers, and malefactors of every country, to whom they offer an asylum, are governed by a queen, almost independent of the great-mogul. These banditti, enemies to every species of commerce, and who even refuse to admit it

to their shores, for fear of becoming civilized, are willing indeed to submit to some degree of police, but of whose severity they need have no great dread. On that account they prefer the administration of women, who, say they, are more mild and tractable than men.

It is to be presumed that travellers have sometimes rather consulted their imagination than adhered to truth in the description they have transmitted us of the greater number of the cities. That Tatta, situated at the mouth of the river Indus, has academies for theology, philosophy, and politics, is very credible; but that the schools and colleges should amount to three hundred in one city, exceeds the bounds of probability. The same doubtful circumspection should be kept in view respecting the variety of natural and artificial curiosities, which will appear in the course of the history. The doctors of Tatta pretend to be possessed of records written in the days of Porus. In them it is asserted, that Alexander, who was a very great magician, being at a loss for his army to cross the Indus, summoned a million of wild geese, who bore his soldiers to the opposite shore.

Hindooستان is inhabited by a diversity of nations—Patans or Afghans, Baluchis, Parsis, Moguls or Tartars. The Indians are the natives of that country; and, although subdued, preserve their superiority, in point of number, in the pro-

portion of an hundred to one. The Parfis are descended from the ancient Persian worshippers of fire, who fled from their country when it fell into the power of the mahometans. Their posterity resides chiefly in the vicinity of Surat. The Patans or Afghans are the descendants of the Mahometans, Turks, Persians, and Arabs; who towards the year 1000 subdued the Indians, and made themselves masters of India, which they still consider as their possession. They detest the Moguls as usurpers, and do not despair of being able one day to expulse them. The most usual oath of the meanest among them is: "May I never be king of Delhi, if it be not the truth." They are warlike, and habituated to the mountains, where they have formed sovereignties under the Rajahs. The Baluchis are a detachment of the Patans, living between Persia and India, a totally uncivilized race, addicted to plunder, in imperfect subjection sometimes to one, sometimes to another monarch. The Moguls or Jagatays are at present the real masters of India, where they rule with arbitrary power. The Europeans have also establishments there. The Indians are idolaters. The Parfis still practise the religion of the ancient Persians, as reformed by Zoroaster; they are a mild and virtuous people. The Patans and Moguls are rigid observers of the mahometan law; but the Baluchis infringe its duties without scruple.

The present Moguls of India retain a very ^{Moguls.} faint resemblance to the Mogul Tartars, their ancestors. They are tall, well made, handsome, and extremely polite to each other, and to strangers. When they meet, their salutation is accompanied with good wishes: "God grant you health—May one blessing be quickly followed by another—I wish you the prayers of the poor." Both sexes wear long dresses, but different in their make. Their forms are various, for they are strangers to fashion. Their principal food is rice: they use bread also, and prefer water to every kind of liquid; which in fact is excellent in India. However they extract intoxicating liquors from fermented fruits, and the juice of vegetables, or that drawn from trees by incision. The ceremonies of marriage are so magnificent, that they not unfrequently ruin men of easy circumstances. They espouse several women: those who have the most, are the most disposed to jealousy. Adultery and fornication are crimes that a brother hesitates not to punish by a sister's death, and he is commended for the act. The women are treated with kindness. They have very easy labours. The first-born son of a legitimate wife ranks before all the rest, who by way of pre-eminence call him grand-brother. Prostitutes are permitted, but they must be registered.

They bury their dead at a distance from the cities. Some of them raise superb tombs ere

their decease. Their mourning is excessive, and clogged with so many forms, that one might be induced to suspect the sincerity of such numerous lamentations and tears enjoined by law: these are renewed at a stated series of years. The different families assemble at the sepulchres of their ancestors, which are always situated in the midst of pleasing scenery. Their language is a mixture of the Persian and Arabic, whose pronunciation is soft and melodious. They write from the left hand to the right. There are always amongst them some persons who cultivate the sciences, but do not make a profession of them, except astrology, which produces an infinite number of fortune-tellers. The Moguls are for the most part sonnites of the same sect as the Turks, and acknowledge Othmain as the lawful successor of Mahomet: the emperor is of this sect. Almost all the courtiers, on the contrary, are shiites, or sectaries of Ali, they being composed in a great measure of Persians. Mahometism is practised in India with extreme rigour. The Moguls are very temperate. The same term that expresses a drunkard expresses also a lunatic. They are exceedingly charitable. The country is covered with pious foundations; hospitals in the cities; reservoirs in the neighbourhood of towns, for the convenience of the inhabitants; inns on the public roads, with tables provided for passengers, gratis. Some even em-

ploy men constantly to parade the roads with buffaloes carrying leathern bags of water to refresh travellers and their cattle.

Hindooſtan is reputed to contain eight hundred thouſand mahometan faquirs, and twelve hundred thouſand mendicant idolaters, called joghis. The derviſes are diſtinguiſhable amongſt the former, who paſs their lives in retirement and contemplation, and only ſubſiſt by the alms that are given to them. Some of them almoſt kill themſelves by the frightful austerities they praſtiſe, ſuch as remaining conſtantly in a bending poſture with their arms ſtretched out, or in other painful poſitions. Some wear heavy irons on their feet, girdles of pointed iron, or ſuſpending themſelves over the fire, ſuffocate themſelves with ſmoke. They have many other modes of mortification. Their uſual form of prayer, which they utter in a very loud tone of voice, is: “ Almighty God, deign to caſt thine eyes upon me; for I love not the world, and I do all this for the love of thee.” They affect the greateſt degree of naſtineſs, and never either ſhave their beard nor cut their hair and nails.

The other faquirs, and the joghis, who may be confounded with the derviſes, for their dirt, nakedneſs, and rags, lead a life altogether different. Inſtead of being ſedentary, they are roving, having no fixed abode: thoſe who wan-

der alone are the most debauched and wicked. It is not uncommon to meet an armed body of them, consisting of two hundred, more or less: they are extremely insolent. They have a superior, who is distinguished by his gravity, the meanness of his garb, in a more tattered state than the rest, and by a heavy chain which he drags after him. On their arriving at an inhabited place, they fix their quarters in the most populous part of it. The chief repeats the prayers in an audible voice, and the others go to the different houses, to gather alms; and boast of the science, virtues, and great qualities of their superior. They receive the devotees who go to consult them with affability, especially the women. They pretend to have secrets to remove barrenness, and to render them objects of desire to whomever they choose. When this troop means to stop, they fix their standard, and assemble the passengers to the sound of the horn and drum.

These are not the ministers of religion. They are composed of young men who attach themselves to the service of the mosques, where they may join to that study some knowledge of the law, and an exemplary life. They attain to the dignity of chiefs of mosques, molahs, and judges. Every religion is tolerated in Hindoostan, and the people treat all the ministers with respect, whatever may be their worship. The Indians

allow all opinions without exception; and they are right: "For," say they, "who is there who could not find some absurdity in his own?"

The Hindoos, or Gentoos, are divided into four great casts, or tribes, which are each subdivided into several others. 1st, The ministers of the law, or priests: 2d, The military; in which class are ranked the kings and rajahs: 3d, The merchants: 4th, The artisans, labourers, and people of low condition.

The priests, or ministers of the law, are named bramins, after Brama, their grand ancestor, the first of all created beings to whom the law was communicated, of which they announce themselves the depositaries. Their pre-eminence is acknowledged by all the other casts and tribes. However atrocious the crimes they commit, they must not suffer death: a deprivation of sight is the greatest punishment the law inflicts. Whoever should kill one of them, even by chance, would be obliged to expiate the deed by a pilgrimage of twelve years. During all that period the murderer would be compelled to ask alms with the bramin's scull in his hand, to eat and drink out of it whatever should be bestowed upon him, and after all to build a temple according to his means. The cast of bramins is among the Indians what the tribe of Levi was amongst the Jews. In some districts they become

kings, or rajahs ; in others, they all of them follow agriculture.

The military are denominated rasputes. They are the nobility of the country, commanded by the rajahs their chiefs. The Great Mogul grants them privileges, and employs them in his armies, lest they should turn against him. The merchants, and all those who attend to commerce, without exception, compose the third cast, and are named banians, a term signifying simple or defenseless people. In fact, they are the most patient of mortals. Whether they be struck, whether they be insulted, they never seek revenge. They cannot bear to see a fly or the meanest insect hurt. Like the bramins, they never eat of any thing that has had life. The rasputes are not so rigid ; neither are the fourth cast, whose appellation, wives or soudras, means a man who serves or assists another. The different professions are not so rigorously observed in this class as they are by the bramins, the rasputes, and the banians, who are not permitted to form alliances out of their casts, and who are in general faithful to this duty : neither are they allowed to interfere in each other's concerns or domestic service. The man who sweeps the streets is not him who removes the dirt ; and the same with every thing else.

We will take the description of the manners

and customs of the Hindoos from the two latter classes, which are those of the populace, in whom, in general, we find what may be called the stamp of nature. They are temperate, reserved in regard to women, modest, and charitable. The last insult only, which is that of striking them with the sole of a slipper that has been spit on, is capable of rousing them from their accustomed gentleness. They are extremely eager after gain: even the most opulent neglect not the smallest profit. Their wealth consists in gold, silver, and precious stones, which they take every precaution to conceal from the Great Mogul's officers. The doctrine of the metempsychosis is held in honour by them; and for that reason they do not slay any animals whatever, not even insects. They also have the good nature to ransom with money the lives of those creatures which are intended by Mussulmen and others to be killed for food, or which sometimes they only threaten, to draw from them a pecuniary consideration. They literally build hospitals for old and infirm animals; but it is exaggerating their mercy towards brutes to say that they extend their care to fleas, bugs, and other vermin who suck the blood, and that they sometimes commend the poor for suffering themselves to be preyed on by those insects.

Endowed with dispositions so inimical to in-

humanity, it is easy to believe that the Hindoos abominate war. In all affairs confided to them, their probity is exemplary. They are excellent domestics; faithful, attentive, and serviceable. They are very cleanly, frequently shave their heads, wear a short beard, anoint and perfume themselves, and distinguish their tribes by the cut of the beard and the turban, and some marks they impress on their bodies. The bramins wear a Y drawn between their eye-brows, which descends upon the nose. They are tall and corpulent; the women rather too fat. Both men and women go with their feet uncovered, but always perfectly clean: the length of their drawers serves them for stockings; and there is not in their language a word to express that part of dress. The Indians wear jewels in their ears and nose, round their arms, fingers, toes, and legs. Their provisions are palatable. They consume a great quantity of tea and coffee, very rarely allowing themselves any other beverage. They are not quick at their occupations, but exceedingly delicate and nice. They are the best wire-drawers, weavers, and artificers, in the world, being perfect imitators. Our workmen are astonished to see them produce so many things with so few tools; but they have a great advantage over us, which is, that they use their feet as well as their hands. They are bad designers, but good colourists:

they only use the juice of vegetables, and that expressed from roots, in their dyes, and never metals.

The Indians are lovers of poetry: their fables are celebrated. They are little acquainted with history, and still less with metaphysics; though they attempt, like us, to develop the origin of beings, and lose themselves in the vain pursuit. The most profitable of their sciences, to those who study them, are astrology and medicine: that astrology which divines and predicts. The face of the heavens is well known to their astronomers, who likewise calculate eclipses. The people are surprizingly terrified at those natural phenomena. When a physician is consulted, he must guess the malady, as amongst us a farrier is obliged to guess that of a horse. He names one, and happy is the patient if he conjecture right. In the knowledge of the pulse they have a wonderful skill, but of anatomy are totally ignorant. They seldom order bleedings, and usually prescribe greasy broths, which methods are found successful.

Their geographers teach that the earth is a triangular plane, surrounded by seven seas of milk, sugar, butter (which is a liquid with them), and wine; but they do not explain how all these good things have so little influence on our atmosphere. Their moral writings are nu-

merous, and excellent of their kind. Their sacred volumes are made a particular study. Benares, a city situated on the Ganges, in a very beautiful and fertile country, is the Athens and general school of India. There are no colleges nor classes as in Europe. After the custom of the ancients, the masters are dispersed about the town, having five or six disciples each, seldom more than ten, whom they instruct as they walk in the beautiful gardens of the suburbs, whose possessors consider it both a pleasure and an honour to receive them.

The banians marry at five or six years old, and at the latest at fifteen or sixteen. This is the only ceremony in which they display their riches, which at all other times they so cautiously conceal. It takes place in the presence of a bramin, who offers up his prayers for their welfare and gives them his blessing: the priest also names the new-born infants. He makes a mark on those of his own cast, as if to admit them into it. Those who have the means burn their dead: the wives of the chiefs esteem it a point of honour to consume themselves on their husband's funeral pile. All the mahometan governors have been able to obtain in their efforts to abolish this cruel custom is, that they shall be obliged to ask permission. They then endeavour by procrastination to damp the ardour of these un-

fortunate widows ; but a year never passes which is not witness to some examples of this barbarous sacrifice.

The Parsis are a colony of the ancient wor-^{Parsis.}shippers of fire who quitted Persia, their country, when it was conquered by the Arabs, toward the middle of the seventeenth century. Endeavouring to escape from the persecutions of the mahometans, they embarked in seven ships, and landed in the gulph of Cambay, where they established themselves and multiplied. They are a mild people, addicted to, and applying themselves to, agriculture. The most beautiful and rich stuffs of that country are their work. Dressed like the natives, they are only distinguished from them by a long beard. They are very indifferent with respect to the nature of their provisions. Their privileged animal is the cock, which they hunt, and sacrifice to the sun ; but the constant object of their adoration is fire, which they preserve alight in their temples with as much care and solicitude as did the vestals of antiquity. They never throw any thing into it which might defile it, such as insects, dust, nor any thing of the kind : they positively shudder if any one spits, or throws water on it : they never extinguish it, but leave it to die away. They are so far from preventing the progress of a conflagration, that they augment it by casting their furniture and clothes into the flames.

Marriage, and other important actions of life, are sanctified by the priests. They do not bury, much less burn, their deceased ; but leave them to decay in the open air, in inclosures prepared for that purpose. The Parsis are the depositaries of the volumes of Zoroaster, their great legislator, who has regulated in his writings the minute ceremonies of their religion, and the form of prayer which is to precede all their actions.

The excessive heat renders the shady groves very precious to the Indians, and they introduce them even into their cities, which, seen at a distance, have the appearance of forests. Every art that imagination can invent is employed to introduce refreshing gales into their houses, which are built in an airy situation, with subterraneous passages, water-works, &c. They are lovers of music, particularly that of a loud kind. The plants intended by nature as remedies of their indigenous disorders, are the growth of the soil. The physicians by long experience have acquired a method of cure which is, in general, successful. The inhabitants of the warmer regions are in a state of continued languor, which might of itself be considered a malady ; however, life is frequently prolonged there to astonishing old age. Their only instruments to measure time consist of a sort of clepsydra, and some others that are very imperfect. The cities are composed only of a number of small houses: even those of the no-

bility are no better than cottages, raised in a spacious inclosure. All their luxury is exhibited in raised pavilions, separated from the house, where the men spend the day in smoking, drinking coffee, and conversing; while the women amuse themselves within the dwelling. Their commerce is considerable, and carried on by land much more than by sea. Travelling is safe almost throughout the country, but far from commodious, since it is necessary to be provided with all the conveniences of life; and the reason why caravans are in general preferred is, because the company mutually accommodate each other.

The Great Mogul keeps his court at Delhi, The Great Mogul's court. his capital. He has constantly near him in the citadel, which is equal to a very large town, a guard of fifty thousand horse. The infantry is immensely numerous. This army is commanded by rajahs or omrahs, who, as their time of service returns, bring forces from their provinces, for six months only. The emperor's body-guard consists of Arab women, who are extremely well disciplined, and never quit the seraglio: amongst them are established all the different degrees of rank which obtain among the men. In like manner there is a council of experienced matrons, who correspond with the ministers, viceroys, governors, and bear the title of their post and province, insomuch that they may be

considered as holding the helm, and being the real pilots of the empire. It is indeed true, that the emperor every week never fails to be present at the exterior council of state, but whatever is regulated by it is only esteemed valid in proportion as it is ratified by the interior. The credit and power of the minister, governor, or others—the continuance of his dignity or employ, depends on his being on good terms with the lady his correspondent. This correspondence is carried on by writing, or by means of the eunuchs. The monarch values himself on a strict administration of justice. Each day, unless prevented by illness, he receives all petitions seated on the throne, and daily also imposes on himself the duty of dispensing justice to ten of the poor. Nothing can be better regulated than the interior government of his palace. Amongst upwards of ten thousand women, and as many eunuchs, all is so well arranged, that a dispute rarely happens; but each individual abundantly enjoys both the necessaries and superfluities of life. The sultanas, the favorites, and princesses, are surrounded with a profusion and magnificence which surpasses all idea. Excepting these few particulars, not a word transpires of what passes in this voluptuous abode, where every pleasure, every enjoyment, every charm, are united for the satisfaction of one man.

Besides the army at Delhi, there is always a Forces and finances. very considerable one at Agra, the other capital. Exclusive of those, the smallest village has two horse, and six foot soldiers, who act as the spies of government, and send an account of whatever is transacted. Every town has a garrison. In a word, the rajahs, who are so many petty sovereigns, as feudatories of the empire, always support a numerous troop ready to march. One of them claims his descent from Porus: he constantly keeps on foot an army of fifty thousand cavalry, and two hundred thousand infantry. The Mogul maintains five hundred elephants: his arsenals contain an immense quantity of ammunition. He finds the funds necessary for these enormous expenses in the patrimony of the persons in his pay, who, great and small, all are his property; in the fertility of the Hindoostan lands, of which he is the proprietor, and whose cultivators are merely the husbandmen; and, lastly, in the duties and taxes upon commerce. All these united produce an amazing revenue.

If we may give credit to a traveller who carefully examined on the spot the commerce of the empire, all the silver of Mexico, all the gold of Peru, after having circulated for some time in Europe and Asia, at length fall into the Mogul empire, whence it never returns. This is its circulation: one part is transported into

Turkey for the commodities drawn from thence; from Turkey the money passes through Smyrna into Persia for silks, which are fetched from that country; from Persia it enters Hindoostan, through the commerce of Moka, Babelmandel, Basra, and Bander-Abassi. Beside, a part flows immediately from Europe into India, particularly through the channel of the Dutch. Almost all the money they draw from Japan is carried into the Mogul states. It is true that Hindoostan, fertile as it is, draws also some commodities from other countries; as copper from Japan; lead from England; cinnamon, nutmegs, and elephants from the island of Ceylon; horses from Arabia, Persia, and Tartary; but in general the merchants are paid in merchandize: consequently the gold and silver of the universe enters Hindoostan by a thousand different ways, and has scarcely any left for its return. It flows, by means of the imposts, into the emperor's treasury, whence it never issues in proportion to its entrance, however vast the expenses of the court and the armies. He has a diamond mine in his dominions, of which the largest and most beautiful are his property.

Justice.
Police.

Nothing can be more uniform than the administration of justice: the viceroys, the governors, and the chiefs of towns, precisely follow the same line of conduct in their several departments as the emperor does at Agra and

Delhi. Justice is dispensed by them alone. There are, indeed, in each city, a sort of civil officer, called kotwal, to judge certain complicated cases; but it is optional with the parties either to carry their complaints to his tribunal or not. The care of the police is committed to this officer; who is to prevent drunkenness, to suppress all places of debauch, to apprehend robbers; and the more effectually to excite his attention and zeal, he is made responsible for robberies. He is obliged to apprize the emperor, or his representative, of all domestic improprieties; and exercises, in this respect, a kind of inquisition, by means of his spies, chosen from among the workmen who are employed about the houses, the servants, slaves, and others: he also has soldiers at his command to repress all disturbances. Each individual, either in the courts of justice or before the governor, pleads his own cause. The circumstances are examined when the witnesses are heard, sentence is immediately passed, which is almost always as equitable as it is prompt. Death warrants are all presented at the emperor's tribunal, and are none of them executed until he has ratified them three different days.

The empire of the Moguls in India began towards the end of the fifteenth century, under a grand-son of Tamerlane's, named Babr. Driven by the Usbecks out of Bukharia, where he

Babr, 1st
Sultan,
1498.

reigned, he carried his arms into India, then governed by the descendants of Jenghis Khan, dethroned sultan Ibrahim, the reigning monarch, usurped his dignity, which he filled with glory during thirty-two years, and at his death left it to Homaïoon, or Hemayun, his son.

Homaïoon,
2d Sultan,
1550.

This prince experienced all the vicissitudes of fortune. At first he obtained signal success against the Patans, or Afghans, from whom his father had violently wrested the sceptre of Hindoostan, but he lost it by a still greater reverse; his own family conspired against him, and he was forced to flee into Persia with a very few attendants. Shah Tahmasp gave him a friendly reception. Homaïoon suffered a reflexion to escape him which nearly cost him his life. The king of Persia had commissioned Bayran, his own brother, to entertain his guest, and even serve him at table. The Mogul seeing himself so well treated, was so imprudent as to say: "The king of Persia is very right in thus teaching his brother to obey: as for me, who loaded mine with wealth and honours, I have found no greater enemies in my misfortunes." Bayran, who was extremely offended at this speech, inspired his brother with suspicions prejudicial to the royal fugitive; and they would have been attended with fatal consequences to him, had it not been for the entreaties of Begum sultana, the king's sister, who interceded in his

behalf. His imprudence was even advantageous to him, for Tahmasp to remove the disturbances which the presence of the Mogul excited at his court, granted him troops, and whatever was necessary for him to return into Hindoostan, of which Homaïoon reconquered a considerable part, and re-entered his capital. He had tasted the fruits of his victories only three months, at the age of forty-nine, and might have promised himself a longer enjoyment; when he died by accident, in the twenty-sixth year of a very chequered reign.

Akbar was almost continually at war with the Patans. As soon as he had subdued them, one of his sons rebelled; he sent another, named Daniel, to oppose him, who vanquished his brother. It appears that these princes had been badly educated, and were surrounded by vicious companions. Selim was obliged to surrender; and the father's vengeance fell on the unworthy favourites who had perverted his morals, and whom he condemned to be trampled to death by elephants. Daniel, after his victory, died of intemperance. Selim again revolted, but having surrendered at his father's remonstrances, he again obtained his pardon; though the parent did not permit his misconduct to remain entirely unpunished, for he gave him several blows on his face with his hand, and confined him in the palace; however, he once more took him

Akbar, 3d
Sultan, 1556.

into favour. Shortly after this reconciliation, Akbar formed a design to get rid of Gaja, one of the nobles who had supported his son in his rebellion, and allowed himself great freedom of speech. He ordered two pills to be prepared of the same size, one of which he intended to give Gaja, while he took the other himself to prevent suspicion. Unfortunately, from tossing the pills in his hand, the emperor mistook them, and swallowed the wrong. Though he instantly had recourse to antidotes they could not save him, and he expired, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the forty-ninth year of his reign.

Jehan Ghir,
4th Sultan,
1614.

The grandees of the empire, probably to punish Selim for his rebellion, wished to place Khosraw, his son, on the throne, after the death of Akbar, but the father, who had taken the name of Jehan Ghir, supplanted him. Khosraw could not easily forget that the crown had been within his grasp; neither did his father forget it. This recollection occasioned a coolness between them, that ended in a rupture. The son levied troops, and was vanquished. Jehan Ghir condemned him to lose his sight, but he did not have his sentence executed, and contented himself with keeping Khosraw prisoner near him. This emperor undertook to subjugate some rajahs; but as he was unwilling that the war should interfere with his pleasures, he very im-

prudently entrusted the command of his forces to Shah Jehan, another of his sons.

The young prince's victories inflamed his heart; they discovered to him the possibility of usurping the throne of a father who appeared wholly absorbed in dissipation. However, Khosraw, his eldest brother, though in disgrace, was still an obstacle in the way of his ambition. Shah Jehan got himself appointed to guard him, and put him to death; then throwing off the mask, he conceived the design of carrying away his father's treasures, with which he purposed to make war against him. He was very near the attainment of his desires, and for a few minutes even had his father in his power, but he escaped from him. Against this rebellious son, Jehan Ghir supported another named Parweis; the brothers gave battle, and Shah Jehan was defeated. He fled, returned, and maintained his ground sometimes in one province, sometimes in another.

In the midst of these events, an incident happened which threw the court into consternation, and might have produced a very great change in the state. A chief of the rasputes, named Mohabet Khan, had been calumniated to the emperor, and found himself exposed to the hatred of a powerful faction, of which the empress was the soul. This princess, called Meher Meja, who was extremely beautiful, and as much distin-

guished by her superiority of understanding as her personal charms, though she was a widow, had inspired the emperor with so violent a passion, that he had married her, and put her at the head of all his other wifes. In what manner Mohabet had offended her is not known, but she had resolved on his ruin. He was advancing to plead his justification, attended only by five thousand rasputes, the ordinary guard of those noblemen. At Meher Meja's instigation, the emperor dispatched an order for him to leave his troops behind, and appear at court followed by his servants only. Mohabet, convinced of the reception he should meet, advanced with his escort to the bank of a river, which separated him from the emperor. While he was waiting the answer that would be returned to his fresh entreaties not to be condemned unheard, taking the advantage of the emperor's being asleep, a body of cavalry, consisting of forty thousand, crossed the river and fell on Mohabet's little troop.

Valour supplies the place of numbers; the rasputes defended themselves with all the courage of despair, killed a great part of the assailants, and drove back the rest into the river. The general, profiting by this success, crossed it with the retreating party, surprized Jehan Ghir, who was still asleep in his tent, and made all the court prisoners. The conqueror, perhaps amaz-

ed at so extraordinary a victory, behaved more like a subject than an enemy; the emperor, while in his power, preserved all his authority, only shewing Mohabet some degree of deference: the latter even neglected the precaution of securing the empress, and watching her motions. She had the address to convey an order to the neighbouring governors to come to her husband's relief. Mohabet was surrounded, and considered himself fortunate in being permitted to retire with his rascals: he led them to join Shah Jehan, with whom he remained. Jehan Ghir survived this event but a very short time. He died at the age of fifty-eight, after reigning twenty-two years, leaving the character of a weak prince, who had suffered himself to be governed by his courtiers and his wife.

Two emperors have already been seen, who after engaging in war against their father, experienced a similar conduct from their sons; Shah Jehan will be the third. As he was absent at the death of Jehan Ghir, the queen undertook to place Shahriyar, her son-in-law, on the throne; but the opposite faction became the stronger, and that they might raise obstacles to Shahriyar's pretensions, they proclaimed Bolakhi, a younger brother of Shah Jehan, in expectation of his arrival. It was with extreme regret that the young prince consented to this ceremony; he no doubt had a presentiment of

Shah Jehan,
5th Sultan,
1627.

the fate which awaited him. His fears were not groundless, for Shah Jehan having him in his power, shewed him no more mercy than he did the sons of his deceased brother Parweis, all of whom he put to death to calm his apprehensions. His cruel policy, however, did not leave him free from disquietude: two counterfeit Bolakhis appeared, to whom he was forced to give battle. He also subjugated all those who could cause him any anxiety in his dominions, became formidable to the rajahs, and other princes, who might have disturbed his peace, and found himself so powerful and tranquil as to be able to declare war against the Portuguese, who had got footing in Hindoostan, and took their strongest fortress. This was the first expedition of the Indians against the Europeans.

Akbar had removed the court from Delhi to Agra; and Jehan Ghir from Delhi to Lahore. Shah Jehan founded another capital, which he named Jehan-abad. He built a magnificent palace, embellished it with superb gardens, and adorned it with whatever could render it a delightful abode. There he forgot the martial inclinations of his youth, to dedicate his life to voluptuousness; and so much was he absorbed in dissipation, that they were obliged, on an event of the utmost urgency, to invent a stratagem to tear him from his pleasures. A rajah had taken up arms, and was making a rapid pro-

gress. The council judged it of the last importance that the emperor should take the field against him ; but how were they to draw him from his beloved luxuries ? The astrologers pronounced that the residence of the capital would be fatal, during a month, to him who should hold the first rank there. The emperor instantly quitted it, and committing the administration to the kotwal, put himself at the head of the army. He returned quickly after a few indecisive successes ; when he found the kotwal dead, and applauded himself much for having credited the astrologers' prediction, who to prevent their skill being suspected had poisoned the unhappy governor.

Shah Jehan's passion for women was immoderate ; not satisfied with those of his haram, he used to invite thither those of his principal nobility. Scandal soon began to descant on these too frequent visits of the ladies to the seraglio, whose rigid rules had been much relaxed by the emperor. The husbands began to take umbrage at it ; the faquirs declaimed ; and the people, by degrees, habituated themselves to despise a prince who suffered his courtiers to be wanting in respect to him with impunity, while he thought that he should allow them some liberties as a sort of retaliation for those he permitted himself to their prejudice. But however devoted he was to his pleasures, he never ne-

glected to dispense justice ; he was the Solomon of the Moguls, and in that respect his memory is still held in veneration. This care, so worthy the attention of a king, supported him for some time longer in the public mind ; and he might, notwithstanding his faults, have reigned in peace, had it not been for the disturbances of his court, occasioned by his indolence in regard to his children, and the ambition which sowed dissensions among them.

He had four sons and two daughters, all arrived at years of maturity. The eldest, named Dara Shekowh, which signifies Magnificent as Darius, was gallant, witty, too much prejudiced in favour of his own capacity, little inclined to religion, subject to fits of passion, during the continuance of which he did not even spare the chief nobles, who were hurt by his irritability, though it was but momentary. Sultan Sujah, the second, was nearly of the same disposition as his eldest brother, but less candid. He treated the courtiers with more deference, but did not gain their affection, because he spent too much of his time with his wives. Aurengzebe had not the amiable qualities of the two former. He was serious and melancholy, discrete and dissimulative : for some time he professed himself a faquir, the more effectually to remove every suspicion that he aimed at the crown. Morad Bukh, the fourth, thought only of plea-

sure: and solely occupied himself in drinking or hunting. He was extremely affable, brave, frank, liberal, open, disdained intrigues, and openly boasted that his only hope lay in the strength of his arm and his sword.

The eldest daughter, Jehan Ara Begum, or *the ornament of the world*, was very beautiful, and very sensible. Her father passionately loved her. Report whispered that his tenderness was even criminal, because he was heard frequently to quote, with a significant application, the decision of the mahometan doctors: "That a man may surely be permitted to eat the fruit of the tree he had planted." However, he allowed her a favourite, a young musician belonging to the palace, whom he loaded with favours; but he poisoned another himself, whom she probably had chosen without his leave; and having surprised her with a third, whom she sent to conceal himself in her bath, under the pretence that he thought it kept in too neglected a state, and that she ought to bathe, her father commanded the fire to be lighted under the cauldron, and never quitted the apartment till the eunuchs made him a sign that the unfortunate gallant was dead. In all other respects her power over her father was absolute. He confided solely in her, and committed to her both the care of his own safety and the regulation of the seraglio. Ara Begum was extremely at-

tached to her brother Dara. Royshan Ray Begum, or *the princess of enlightened mind*, was neither so beautiful nor so sensible as her sister ; but she was not less gay, nor less addicted to pleasure. She wholly attached herself to Aurengzebe.

Adopting the same bad policy that had caused Jehan Ghir such repeated embarrassments, Shah Jehan appointed his sons to the government of provinces, equal to kingdoms. To Sujah he gave Bengal ; to Aurengzebe, Deccan ; to Morad, Guzerat. Dara, the eldest, the heir apparent to the crown, had only two small provinces in the vicinity of the capital, that he might not be distant from the court. His father already permitted him to command there ; but he afterwards grew suspicious of him, and listened to the suggestions of Aurengzebe, who prevailed on him, by means of the emir Jemla, his general, to have an army always ready to march, and to intrust it to him, under the pretext of the necessity of carrying on hostilities against the kings of Golconda and Vissapour. Dara consented, with great reluctance, to a measure which would render Aurengzebe very powerful, undoubtedly to his prejudice.

At that period the intrigues were only in embryo ; but a dangerous malady with which the emperor was attacked soon disclosed them. The princes flew to arms. According to the custom of the country, the contest was for the

throne, or for life. Aurengzebe's conduct, on this occasion, is a model for the ambitious who make no scruple of surmounting obstacles by artifice. The hypocrite thus wrote to Morad : " Dara is a kafer (an idolater), Sujah a rafezi (a heretic), I am a faquir. You alone can pretend to the crown. If you will only give me your promise that, after your accession to the empire, I shall be suffered to live quietly in some distant corner of your dominions, where I may pray to God the remainder of my days, I am ready to join you with my troops, and assist you to take possession of the throne." At the same time he sent him a trifling sum of money as an earnest of his goodwill. The forces he offered were not to be despised ; for he had augmented their number by another stratagem. The emir Jemla, who was commander of a formidable corps of rasputes, dared not declare himself, because, according to the custom, his wife and children were detained at court as hostages ; and consequently he would have endangered their safety. Aurengzebe proposed that he should give him leave to seize and keep him prisoner, to prevent their being suspected of a secret intelligence. The emir consented. He was arrested, and confined in a chamber. His troops were alarmed ; but as it was only a scheme, their fears were soon calmed. Aurengzebe, attended by them, and those of his

own government, began his march to join Morad, publishing, that he was going, by his father's orders, to deliver him from the tyranny of his two elder brothers.

This proclamation was not altogether unfounded. Shah Jehan, pressed, with haughty importunity, by his eldest son, to order the rest to lay down their arms, like a feeble prince, forbore to exert his authority towards them; and was on the whole not sorry that they should be a check on each other, that he might if necessary repress the ambition of the one by means of the other. The most dangerous, in appearance, was neither Aurengzebe nor Morad, yet more distant, but Sujah, who was advancing with a large army. The emperor was obliged to intrust all his forces to Dara, who placed Solomon, his son, a young man of great merit, at their head. He no sooner had dispersed his uncle's army, and forced him to flee, than he turned back to oppose Aurengzebe and Morad, who were approaching. When the armies were in sight, the most prudent of Dara's counsellors advised him not to risk a battle, but to attempt rather to come to terms of accommodation. Shah Jehan, though in extreme ill health, wished to be conveyed into his two sons' camp, that he might endeavour to effect a reconciliation between them. Dara would not hear of such a proposal. They engaged. An incident, apparently

of no importance decided both the victory and the fate of the empire.

Notwithstanding the valour of Aurengzebe's raputes, Dara's numerous troops could scarcely fail to come off victorious. His army consisted of an hundred thousand cavalry, five hundred elephants, and infantry in proportion. After a very obstinate resistance, the wing commanded by Aurengzebe in person was thrown into confusion. Morad, wounded on his elephant, while covering with his shield his son, a child of seven years old, who was with him, could with difficulty hold him in. The whole army was shaken, and on the point of flying. "Comrades," cried Aurengzebe, "what advantage will you find in flight?" He protested that he would not quit the field; and as a proof of his assertion, commanded a chain to be thrown round his elephant's feet. The soldiers swore they would never abandon him. He remained firm in his resolve. While Dara continued to combat with his usual ardour, the cry of victory resounded around him. One of his generals, who is suspected to have been gained over by the adversary, approached, saying: "Health and glory to your majesty; descend quickly from your elephant, and mount your horse; what remains but to pursue these cowards?" Dara followed this insidious counsel; but his troops, who constantly looked towards him, not seeing him on

his elephant, concluded he was slain. In less than a quarter of an hour his whole army was dispersed. Thus Aurengzebe, for having remained on his elephant a few minutes, saw the crown of Hindoostan on his head, and Dara, for having dismounted from his a minute too soon, found himself hurled from the throne.

One fault is in general the consequence of another. From the wreck of his army Dara might have still formed a formidable body, and defended Agra, which Aurengzebe had not yet dared to attack. That was his father's opinion, which he communicated to him; but he chose rather to absent himself with Solomon, his son, to raise fresh troops more at leisure. Aurengzebe lost not a moment, and presented himself before the capital. Then commenced the embassies between the father and son. An invitation was sent from the former for him to come and embrace his father, who never ceased cherishing a real esteem and affection for this beloved son, whom he always considered as more deserving the throne than Dara. The son returned many thanks, with earnest protestations of respect and deference; but alleged that his affairs would not permit him to perform, at that time, a duty so flattering to his heart. Roysan Ray, his youngest sister, had conveyed him information that if he entered the seraglio he most probably would not return in safety from the Arab guard of armed

women. After a delay of some days he sent sultan Mahmud, his son, a young prince extremely active and enterprising, whom he commissioned to perform what he could not do himself, from respect to his father. Without listening to his grand-father's offers, who promised him the throne if he would join him, Mahmud demanded all the keys of the fortrefs, blocked up the doors, barred the windows, and made Shah Jehan prisoner in his palace. Aurengzebe at the same time wrote him a short note, in which he complained of his partiality to Dara, told him that it was Dara who imprisoned him; that, for his part, he had always felt a truly filial tenderness for him. "Pardon me," added he towards the conclusion; "do not be impatient; as soon as I shall have disposed of Dara in such a manner as to prevent him fulfilling his wicked designs, I will come myself and throw open your doors."

Secure on his father's side of becoming sole master, he only wanted a pretext to get rid of Morad. With all his natural frankness, that young prince had reposed an entire confidence in his brother. There is not a doubt that to his courage Aurengzebe owed, in a great measure, all his successes. As long as the hypocrite wanted his assistance, there was no mark of respect he did not shew him. He never addressed him without a title, due only to supreme power: as king, emperor, your majesty, and the like. Morad, notwithstand-

ing the warnings of several of his friends, could not be brought to harbour suspicions to the prejudice of so good a brother, and one so totally free from ambition. Aurengzebe one night detained him to supper, prolonged the repast, ordered some excellent wine to be served; but which the rigid duties of his religion forbade his tasting. When he saw his brother in great hilarity with one or two guests who had attended him, he withdrew, under the pretence of leaving them more at ease. The prince continued to drink till he fell fast asleep. The two guests were then desired to retire, that Morad might not be disturbed; and as soon as he was left alone, his sabre and poniard were taken from him.

Aurengzebe was not long before he came in person to wake him. He rudely pushed him with his foot. When the prince opened his eyes, he addressed him in the following terms: “How
“shameful! how infamous! a king as thou art,
“to have so little decency as to inebriate thyself
“in this manner. What will be thought of thee
“and of me? Come, take up this wretch, this
“drunkard, bind his hands and feet, and throw
“him in yonder till he has slept himself sober.” The order was immediately executed. As soon as this event was known, the troops began to shew signs of discontent; but care had been taken to place those among them, who threw all the blame on Morad. They reported, that in a fit of

drunkenness he had insulted his brother, who, for fear of worse treatment, had been necessitated to confine him; but that he would be released as soon as he had slept off the fumes of the wine. So in fact he was; being taken from his first prison, to be removed into a citadel.

The conqueror having concerted all his plans in regard to the capital, went in quest of Dara. He pursued him with such unremitting ardour, that he not unfrequently advanced two or three leagues before his troops. On an occasion of this sort, he saw rajah Jesseyn advancing towards him, whom he knew to be tenderly attached to Shah Jehan. This general was attended by five or six thousand rajputes. Aurengzebe was much astonished, as he had only a very few persons with him; the rajah might have seized him, and set the emperor at liberty. It is not known whether this were not his intention, for he had marched with amazing alacrity, and Aurengzebe thought him at Delhi. However, he instantly determined what conduct to adopt. Without betraying any emotion—without changing countenance, he went up to Jesseyn, spoke to him aloud with the appellations of friendship and respect—"My lord rajah, my lord my father:"—and continued, "I impatiently expected thy approach. It is all over, Dara is ruined. He is quite alone; I have sent after him, he cannot escape." Then taking off his pearl collar, he put it on the rajah's neck, and

to disengage himself from him as soon as possible without giving him offence, for he already wished him at a distance, he said, "Go with all the speed thou canst to Lahore, and wait for me there. My army is fatigued. I fear some disturbance there. I make you governor of the city; I commit every thing to your care. I am extremely obliged to you for what you have already done. Where did you leave that traitor Delil? I shall find a way to be revenged. Farewel! Make haste." Overpowered by this torrent of words, Jesseyn, loaded with favours, if he had formed any design, desisted from it; and Aurengzebe continued his way; though he changed the object of his pursuit.

As Dara had taken refuge in Guzerat, where it would be difficult to vanquish him, Aurengzebe turned his arms against his brother Sujah. He obtained some advantages over him, but none decisive. Another circumstance occurred to augment his anxiety. Sultan Mahmud, his son, listened to evil counsellors, and rebelled against his father. The attempt was futile: he should have taken his grand-father's advice, when he persuaded him to that measure. His father's authority was at that time precarious, and he might have succeeded; but in the present circumstances, Aurengzebe could crush his son with all his united forces. He took him prisoner, and sent him to languish out his youth in a citadel, where he died.

On this occasion it was he made this paternal harangue to sultan Mauzm, his second son: "There
 " is something so exceedingly delicate in reigning,
 " that kings should be almost jealous of their
 " shadow. If you are not docile, you may very
 " probably meet with your brother's fate. Do
 " not flatter yourself that I am one of those men
 " who will suffer myself to be treated as Shah
 " Jehan treated Jehan Ghir his father, and as I
 " have treated mine." It is from this period,
 when holding Morad in captivity, and almost certain of expelling Dara and Sujah, his two other brothers, from Hindoostan, or of exterminating them and their families, that we must date the reign of Aurengzebe.

At the same time that his father was guarded with all imaginable precaution, he granted him Aurengzebe, 6th sultan, 1658. whatever could amuse and soften his confinement; his former apartment, his wives, his singers, his mollahs to read the Koran to him, the society of his eldest daughter, combats of animals, and every other species of entertainment that he could desire. He calmed his resentment by obliging letters, full of respect and submission; consulted him as his oracle; and shewed him every mark of deference. He continually sent him little presents. By these attentions he so won on his affection, that the father, of his own accord, frequently gave him things that he had at first refused him; and at length he granted him his pardon and paternal

bleffing, which Aurengzebe had often intreated, but without effect.

The death of that emperor, which happened fix years after his feclufion, caufed not the fmalleft difturbance in the empire. He was neither good nor wicked, rather indulgent than cruel. His ruling paffion was avarice. Not fatisfied with inheriting the treafures of his nobility after their deceafe, which was one of the prerogatives of the crown, though certainly an abufe, he appeared ardently to expect thefe fucceffions, and talked of them with an intemperate joy. One of the omrahs knowing his rapacity, and fufpecting that at his death the emperor, depending on immense riches, would not fail to demand his coffers, that he might enjoy the fight of their contents, fecretly diftributed his wealth to his relatives, and even to ftrangers. In his laft illnefs he ordered his chefts to be well clofed and fealed, and faid to thofe who furrounded him: "This is the king's property." What he forefaw, took place. The emperor, impatient to behold this treasure, caufed them to be brought into the affembly of his courtiers. They were opened, when all they contained was old iron, ftones, rags, bones, and other things of the fame nature. Shah Jehan, confused, uttered not a word, but rofe and quitted the apartment.

A woman alfo difappointed his avarice. Her husband, a rich Gentoo trader, had died worth two hundred thoufand rupees: fhe difpenfed his

wealth with a sparing hand to her son, who was very extravagant. The young man's companions persuaded him to carry a complaint to the emperor. Shah Jehan willingly received his deposition, sent for the widow, and commanded her to remit him fifty thousand rupees, and to give the like sum to her son; he then ordered her to be instantly turned out, that he might not hear her clamours. The mother, surprized both at the sentence, and her being enjoined silence, cried out that she had something more to discover to the king. She was brought back, and thus harangued him: "God preserve your majesty. I must confess that my son has some right to demand his father's property, because he is his blood and mine, and consequently our heir. But I could wish to know what relationship your majesty can possibly have with my late husband, to claim his succession." The emperor smiled, and dismissed her without requiring any thing.

Shah Jehan had the affliction of seeing his three sons destroyed by the barbarity of their brother. Aurengzebe's policy, incapable of compassion, did not even permit him to spare the unfortunate Dara the ignominy of being made a public spectacle to the city of Agra. He was led through all the streets, mounted on an old elephant, covered with a tattered garment, that every one might see and not harbour a doubt that it was he who was going to suffer death. At a public audience he

ordered Solomon, his nephew, to be brought into his presence, talked to him, induced him to answer his questions, and then sent him prisoner to the same citadel as his uncle Morad, neither of whom were ever more heard of. As to Sujah, pursued without ceasing by his brother, the only measure he could adopt was, to throw himself on the protection of a neighbouring king, who was under obligations to him. When on the point of being betrayed by his ungrateful host, he conceived the desperate enterprize of dethroning that monarch, and perished in the attempt. Sultan Banka, his son, the princes, princesses, mothers, children, all were exterminated. Next came the turn of Aurengzebe's own family. His eldest son, Mahmud, was either assassinated or poisoned. Akbar, another of his sons, for whom he had an extraordinary partiality, rebelled, and caused him some uneasiness; but he defeated his views by a very artful stratagem. The prince's army consisted chiefly of idolaters: Aurengzebe sent one of his confidants into his son's camp with a feigned letter addressed to Akbar, in which the emperor commended him for his prudence in having thus assembled the idolaters together to put them all to the sword, and that he would advance the following day for that purpose. The eunuch was told to conduct himself in such a manner as to raise suspicion, that the letter might be intercepted. Akbar in vain protested that it was an artifice of

his father's; confusion arose in the army, the troops dispersed, and Akbar esteemed himself fortunate in being able to take refuge at the court of Persia, where he was kindly received.

Mauzm, the son to whom he gave such salutary advice in the affair concerning Mahmud, either offended or gave him umbrage. He commanded him, in full assembly, to go and kill a lion, which had come down from the mountains and was ravaging the country. The great huntsman asked for nets, for the prince, that were usually employed for that kind of hunting. The emperor replied: "When I was young, I never was so particular." It was next to devoting his son to death; but he returned safe from this perilous adventure, though not without braving considerable danger. From that time his father shewed him much affection, and gave him an important government; not, however, without limiting his power, as he intended to do that of all those whom he favoured. He used to bestow on them a much greater degree of splendor than authority. If any of the rajahs of the frontiers displayed any martial skill and talents, he never failed to employ them in hostilities with the princes of the neighbouring provinces. By this mean, he conquered kingdoms, from which he derived the double advantage, of augmenting his dominions and procuring tranquillity.

He died at the age of ninety, generally dreaded; but likewise very much esteemed for his diligence

in answering, himself, all petitions, administering justice in person, and acquitting himself of all the painful duties attached to royalty. Aurengzebe was a rigid observer of the Koran. He ceased being cruel as soon as it was no longer useful to him; he even confined himself, after his great executions, to eat fruits and vegetables only, during the remainder of his life, as an expiation for the blood he had considered himself obliged to shed to obtain the throne. But would not his conduct have been more meritorious, had he forborne to aspire to a throne which could only be obtained at that price? He attached no great importance to the laws, whose violation had been rigorously punished by his predecessors. Two young men were brought before him, who were found roving about the seraglio gardens. "How did you gain admittance?" said he. One answered by the door, the other over the wall. "Make them return as they came," added he. The eunuchs, like those officious valets who always exceed their orders, threw the latter over the wall, and he died in consequence of his bruises.

Aurengzebe left immense treasures, although he at all times dispensed them generously and commendably: very unlike his father, who frequently indulged in the strange amusement of descending into arched vaults supported with marble pillars where he heaped his riches, and where he would remain whole hours together contemplating them.

His son made a very concise will. Kings would do well not to make any, they are always so badly executed! He commanded his children to abide by the division he had made of the kingdom between them, which was the only means of preventing a vast effusion of blood. But he appeared to foresee that these regulations would be little respected; and as he cared not about the disputes which might happen between those ambitious rivals, he only intreated, that whoever should have the good fortune to obtain the empire, would do no injury to Mohamed Khan Bukhs, his youngest son; and without precisely giving any pre-eminence to Mohamed Azem Shah, the third of his sons who were present, he ordered those who surrounded him to obey him.

In the space of thirteen years, six emperors appeared upon the throne; the first of whom was Mauzm Bahader Shah, 1707. Mauzm, who took the name of Bahader Shah, and conquered Mohamed Azem, whom their father had in a manner appointed to succeed him. During some centuries India had not seen such numerous armies. Mauzm's consisted of a hundred and fifty thousand horse, and a hundred and seventy thousand foot soldiers, without mentioning the auxiliary troops. Azem's forces were in equal proportion; but he was slain in battle. Mauzm reigned only six years, and died of illness. He left four sons. The three younger joined against

the eldest, who met the fate of adverse fortune, and perished, like his uncle, in the field. The three brother conquerors could not agree. Jehandar found means to get possession of his father's treasures. Money furnished him both with adherents and troops; and he triumphed over his brothers, whom he put to death. His extravagant passion for his wife, who was a singer, occasioned him to commit errors that proved his ruin. He invested her low relations with the most important and honourable dignities of the empire. This conduct was extremely disgusting to the nobles; and two of them, who were brothers, and who enjoyed considerable credit, named Hassan and Abdallah, hurled him from the throne, and raised Furrukhsir, the son of Azem, in his place.

The two brothers expected to hold the reins of government under him; and, in fact, for some time enjoyed an absolute authority. Furrukhsir at length became weary of the yoke, and tried to shake it off. The brothers threw him into prison, deprived him of sight, and afterwards of life. Then, from the castle of Selim Gur, where the royal family was confined, they drew out one of the children of Aurengzebe, named Raffiya, who was pleasing to them only three months. They removed him, and placed his brother Raffiya Al Dowlet on the throne; who, in the course of a very few days, by a natural death, ceded it to

Nasroddin, Furrukhsir's cousin, who took the name of Mohammed Shah, and was installed by the brothers.

They left him no more authority than they had his cousin; but he very shortly recovered his rights. Under pretence of a war, he drew Hassan from Agra, and as soon as he had him at some distance caused him to be tried by the omras, and massacred. He immediately returned to Agra; but Abdallah, who had been informed of the event, had taken a son of Raffiya from Selimgur, caused him to be proclaimed, and supported him against the emperor with a very formidable army. The slaughter was prodigious. Abdallah fell into the power of Nasroddin, who, violently agitated, said to him: "Traitor, what is it thou hast done?" "What have I done!" replied Abdallah; "I delivered you from prison, and gave you an empire. My brother having been killed by your orders, as I was at the head of an army, self-preservation taught me to employ it. Providence decreed you the victory; use it as you think proper in treating this mass of clay, as your resentment or interest shall suggest." "But," returned the emperor, "what harm had Furrukhsir done you?" "He had grown jealous," said Abdallah with frankness, "of the power that my brother and I had enjoyed. As to relinquish it was contrary to our interest, we thought it dangerous not to get rid of him as soon as

Nasroddin
or Moham-
med Shah,
13th Sultan,
1720.

“ possible. If Providence had permitted us always
“ to have acted with the same degree of prudence,
“ we should not be now reduced to this tragic
“ end.” The monarch sent him to prison, but
with domestics to serve him. A few days after he
removed him to a palace, assigned him a pension,
allotted him a numerous train of attendants, and
gave him all the conveniences of life. Abdallah
was not much benefitted by this generosity, for he
died of his wounds about two months after.
Forty-five women, as well as his wives or concu-
bines, confined themselves in a house, and burned
themselves on the day of his funeral. His emperor
was sent back to Selimgur.

1738.

Under Mohammed Shah an event took place,
which was neither a conquest on the part of the
enemy, nor rebellion of the populace, nor revo-
lution in the government, which, in fact, it is
difficult to characterize, and which notwithstanding
occasioned the greatest misfortunes. The conduct
of this prince towards Abdallah demonstrates that
he was mild and humane, qualities which perhaps
are improper in the chief of so unstable an empire.
In a court that was torn to pieces by factions, and
agitated by the ambition and turbulency of the
nobles, every thing suffered—morals, religion, po-
lice. There was neither discipline in the army,
nor regularity in the finances. The worthy em-
peror saw all these disorders, lamented them, but
wanted the force to apply a remedy.

The thought occurred to him of calling Nizam al Muluk, governor of Deccan, to his assistance; a man of merit and experience, who had enjoyed the confidence of Aurengzebe, and was very capable of repairing the springs of this relaxed machine, if he were seconded by the emperor; but knowing that prince's weakness, he went much against his inclination.

What he foresaw came to pass: the part of a reformer is every-where difficult, but particularly so in courts. Nizam found every one prejudiced against him. They thwarted his ideas, ridiculed his plans, and laughed at his remonstrances. The luxury of the court, instead of decreasing, augmented, as if to brave the reformer.

Finding that his efforts were vain, he told the emperor that the affairs of his province demanded his presence, and quitted the court. He resolved to give this dissolute and dissipated court, which had despised his councils, a more efficacious warning—one which should rouse both the sovereign and the courtiers from the state of indolence and apathy into which they were fallen. Until that period he had restrained the Mahrattas to their mountains; but he now suffered them to descend into the plains, and to continue their ravages even to the vicinity of the capital. Nizam was recalled to oppose this torrent. As he had directed it, he had very little trouble in diverting its course. When the danger was past, he perceived that the

court was neither more tractable, nor more inclined to a reform; on the contrary, he was treated with less respect than before. The omrahs missed no opportunity of insulting him. When they saw him appear with the gravity of a man of his age and station, they would say to each other in ridicule—"Look, how the Deccan monkey dances!"

Offended more than he had been before, he judged it right to give them once for all so complete a lesson as should correct them for the future. At that time Persia was governed by the famous Thamas Kouli Khan, who is known in history by his expedition into India under the name of Nadir Shah. This prince took advantage of the indolence and disturbances in the Indian court to aggrandize himself. He had taken the fortress of Kandahar, and was on the frontier at the head of an army of a hundred and twenty-five thousand cavalry, men of various nations, and all inured to the fatigues of war. Nizam held the helm of government, with a title superior to that of grand-vizier. This minister, in concert with three or four powerful nobles, whom he had attached to his cause, wrote to the Persian, inviting him to march to Dehli, and undertook to remove all difficulties. The motive he urged to engage the prince to this enterprize is not known; whether it were to punish the insolent courtiers, or free the emperor from their tyranny, or to rouse him from his indolence and apathy: a singular

mode of correcting his master. Whatever might have been his reason, Nadir Shah, in the proposal made him, saw only the benefits that could not fail to accrue from this lucrative and glorious invasion ; nor were his expectations disappointed.

Every obstacle sunk before him—the cities surrendered, the viceroys submitted ; for Nizam wrote to them saying, that the emperor and his favourites spent all their time in drinking and carousing with the women, that the court never even thought about them, that they could hope for no relief from that quarter, therefore they had better provide for their own safety. He advised them to treat in the best manner they could for their own interest, and they adhered to his counsel. In all those cities, especially at Lahore, one of the capitals, Nadir Shah found immense treasures, formerly buried, which encouraged his troops, and seemed an earnest of those they expected at Delhi. Those places which attempted to defend themselves, having no assistance, experienced the most barbarous treatment, pillage, massacre, and conflagration. When the Persians, however, advanced towards the chief capital, it was absolutely necessary to make some shew of resistance. A very considerable army was ready to oppose Nadir Shah. Whether from fear or prudence, the Persian offered terms of accommodation ; but these were rejected by Nizam with peculiar haughtiness, who also differed in opinion from all Mohammed Shah's other counsellors at the battle. It was undoubt-

edly a premeditated plan, for after the defeat, Nizam, who procured himself to be deputed to the conqueror's camp to treat on terms of peace, was received by him in the most honourable manner, and with the most distinguishing marks of regard.

The result of this conference is unknown. But the ensuing day the Mogul permitted himself to be conducted to the Persian's tent as to that of a friend. Nadir sent his son out to meet him, quitted his pavilion to receive him, and made him take a place by him, on the same cushion. The usual compliments past, he addressed him nearly as follows: "It is astonishing that you are so in-
" attentive to your concerns, and that though I
" wrote you several letters, though I dispatched to
" you an ambassador, and gave you proofs of the
" most unfeigned friendship, that your ministers
" should not have thought proper to give me
" a satisfactory answer. From your neglecting
" to establish a good discipline among your peo-
" ple, one of my ambassadors has been killed
" in your dominions, without your avenging
" it. Even when I entered your empire, you
" appeared totally careless of your own interest,
" to such a degree as not even to consider it
" worth your while to enquire who I was, or
" what was my intention. When I afterwards
" advanced to Lahore, no messenger arrived from
" you, no person came out to greet me, no notice
" was even taken of the compliments I had sent
" to present you. At length your omrahs,

“ awakened from their imbecile lethargy, came
“ in a tumultuary manner to stop my progress;
“ yourself, inflated with your puerile imaginations,
“ and inspired by your extravagant resolves, re-
“ fused to listen to any honourable overture, un-
“ til at last, by the assistance of God and the force
“ of arms, you see the consequence that has re-
“ sulted.” He then reproached him with the
protection he granted the infidels, to the prejudice
of the mahometan religion; which might be im-
puted to the attention that Mohammed shewed the
Europeans in his dominions. Nadir concluded
thus:—“ As the posterity of Timur has neither
“ insulted the sophis nor done any injury to the
“ people of Persia, I will not wrest your empire
“ from you; but since your indolence and pride
“ have obliged me to come from a great distance,
“ and expend vast sums, and as my troops are
“ extremely fatigued by their long marches, and
“ in want of necessaries, I will go on to Delhi,
“ and remain there some days till my army is re-
“ freshed; and the peyshkush, that is to say, the
“ contribution to which Nizam agreed with me,
“ shall be paid.—After that I will leave you to
“ the care of your own concerns.”

Nadir's precautions to regulate his march to-
wards Delhi, and to insure his own safety in the
city, and that of its inhabitants, were a master-piece
of skill and prudence. They would have succeeded
had it not been for the mischievous cabals of some

ill-disposed persons, who, under the pretext of the scarcity and dearness of provisions, excited the populace to revolt, and to fire on the Persians, and on Nadir himself. When he approached to quell the tumult, the guilty, terrified by the consciousness of their crime, made their escape. The vengeance of Nadir fell on the city, which he delivered up to the mercy of his soldiery. They committed every species of horror which licensed barbarians can invent. In the space of seven hours, which the massacres continued, there perished an hundred and fifty thousand men. This expedition is said to have cost the dominions of Mohammed upwards of a million of souls, the victims of a violent death, exclusive of those who died of grief and misery. Nadir recalled those who had fled; but alas! what a favour! What must have been the feelings of these wretched beings on returning to their desolated abodes, wandering through heaps of ruins, a prey to agonizing inquietude on the fate of beloved friends, wives, and children, who were lost perhaps for ever!

The pillage over, they next thought of the *peyshkush*, which was fixed at nearly twenty-five millions sterling. An office was established where the nobles were expected to state the amount of their fortunes. They paid their quota without recriminating, or accusing each other. Nizam's share only was almost two millions. If this tax were unexpected, it certainly was a just punishment for

his folly and wickedness. Nadir took whatever was brought. Every thing was well received—furniture, jewels, stuffs, horses; in a word, whatever could be carried or led away; and he took special care that the valuation should not be to his disadvantage. When he was in possession of the whole sum, he privately imparted to the Mogul the advice he judged necessary, discovered to him the characters of his courtiers, and counselled him to be on his guard against Nizam. He then at a public audience received the omrah's adieux; regarding them with a look of severity, he threatened them with a second visit if they altered not their conduct, saluted the assembly, cordially embraced his host, and departed. Mohammed Shah died in 1748.

WESTERN PENINSULA.

Kingdoms of much smaller extent than the provinces of the peninsula within the Ganges, which we shall next consider, have furnished a greater number of events, because they have had historians to record them. There is not the least possibility of doubt, that countries so fertile and populous must have experienced in the long course of successive ages all those vicissitudes, those fatal catastrophes, which are the food of history; but they are either buried in inaccessible archives, supposing those records do exist, or else are preserved in the memories of men little inclined to communicate

Western
Peninsula.

them ; from whom the most curious and persevering travellers have never been able to obtain more than a very imperfect account. We will endeavour to extract from these narratives whatever shall appear to us of the most importance.

DECCAN.

The peninsula within the Ganges, denominated the Western, is separated from Hindoostan by an ideal line extending from the gulph of Cambay to the mouths of the Ganges. The other sides are surrounded by the Indian sea. Deccan first claims our attention.

It is composed of several states, which originally were governed by their own rajahs or kings. The first known expedition of the sovereigns of Delhi into these provinces is that of Mahmud Shah in 1264. The general he left there became so powerful, that his successor made himself independent of the conqueror. He divided his dominions into eighteen parts, and granted the government to an equal number of his captains, whom he commanded to build, each of them, a palace in Badir, his capital, and to leave him one of their sons as an hostage. Too powerful to continue their fidelity, these governors assumed the titles of sovereigns, and formed principalities of more or less extent, which in the course of the perpetual wars between their possessors were confounded and intermingled. These commotions enabled the Portuguese to ob-

tain a footing there, and it was in that province that they fixed their first and their most useful establishments.

BISNAGAR,

It would be as difficult to fix the boundaries of Bisnagar as those of Deccan, because wars have continually altered its limits. We must therefore be satisfied to convey an idea of the forces and riches of this country, which is denominated an empire. If the relations given us be not exaggerated, its capital, called also Bisnagar, was more than twelve leagues in circumference, and contained several hills within its inclosure; but all the buildings were of clay except the pagodas, and three palaces. The king of these cottages in 1520 covered the plains and mountains with an army, composed of thirty-five thousand cavalry, seven hundred and thirty-three thousand infantry, and five hundred and eighty-six elephants who carried towers with each four men. In the rear of this army followed twelve thousand water bearers, and twenty thousand women of the populace, for the service.

Merchants of every nation resorted to Bisnagar; it was the most famous place in all the East for the commerce of diamonds. When this city was destroyed by the confederated princes, who slew the emperor at the age of ninety-six, in 1565, the conquerors spent five months in sacking it, but the

inhabitants had removed the most valuable part of the booty. During the short interval of three days, they had sent away fifteen hundred elephants laden with money and jewels, to the amount of an hundred millions, without counting the imperial throne of inestimable value, designed for occasions of ceremony. However, the pillagers still found a diamond the size of a common egg, which supported the egret of the monarch's horse; another rather less; and a variety of precious stones of incredible price. This sort of exaggeration is not unfrequent in the Indian annals, of which we shall see other examples.

The soubah of Deccan, sovereign of these provinces, resides in the city of Aurengabad, without fortifications and walls, but entirely shaded with trees, and situated in a delightful country. There are also other well-supplied cities and citadels. The pagodas of Elora are justly famous. They consist of a large space filled with tombs, chapels, spacious temples, and an infinite number of figures cut in the solid rock: gigantic labours, which seem to mock the strength of mere mortality, and even arrest the admiration of those who are accustomed to contemplate the colossal statues of Egypt! The Indians of these countries marry their children at five or six years old, and permit the husband to cohabit with the wife as soon as she is eight years old, and he ten; but the women who become mothers so early cease being so at thirty,

and already bear upon their brow the wrinkles of old age.

VISIAPOUR.

The position of the kingdom of Visiapour will be known by the indication of its chief cities, whose names are almost all familiar to the Europeans. These are Damor, a fortified place belonging to the Portuguese; the island of Salfette, full of monuments of antiquity carved in the rock; Bombay, the best harbour the English possess; the island of Goa, where the Portuguese fleets arrive. The Dutch have considerably diminished the commerce of the latter nation on this coast, by invading a great part of its possessions. The English also have increased theirs, by extending their dominion as far as Surat. In a word, the last of these shores is the territory of the Mahrattas, which in some parts descends as far as the ocean. The kingdom of Visiapour, after having for a long series of years been governed by the Patan monarchs, fell into the hands of Aurengzebe. It was a prey to different factions, which that prince turned to his own interest. The sovereigns not daring to confide in their countryman, intrusted the government to some casters or negroes, some of whom raised themselves to the dignity of protectors of the kingdom during the minorities; but the nobles, jealous of the influence enjoyed by these blacks, revolted, and formed an union which paved the way for the

usurpation of the throne. This was a matter of indifference to them, because under a foreign dominion they could more securely preserve their power, each in his canton.

MAHRATTAS.

The Mahrattas, who are likewise called Gamins, inhabit the mountains which bound Vifiapour, the Carnatic, and some other territories, either contiguous to the Mogul empire, or which form a part of it. These mountains are fertile, very populous, interspersed with a variety of plains surrounded by dead glens, which compose natural fortresses superior to those of art. In the pasturage, which crowns the heights, great numbers of horses are bred,

Thus the principal force of this nation lying in their cavalry, renders their irruptions into the plains as sudden as they are impetuous. There are very few mahometans among them. Their prevailing religion is paganism, as it was practised by their ancestors, the ancient Indians. They are governed by rajahs, who are thought to be independent of each other, or members of a species of federative republic, with a regency or council, to which their common interests are referred; but without the chief, supposing there be one, or the collective body of the senate, having the power of exercising any authority over the people subjected to each rajah.

Such is nearly the idea we are able to form of the Mahrattas, who suffer no travellers to penetrate into their mountains without the greatest caution, and who are only known by their ravages. In the time of Aurengzebe they had a celebrated chief named Sevaji, as treacherous and artful a man as he was a brave soldier and good general. Woe to those who trusted to his apparent candour and sincerity! He one day wrote to Abdol Khan, general to the king of Vifiapour, whose capacity he dreaded, that he would not think of attacking so able a man, and that he intreated him only to grant him a safeguard that he might kiss his feet. The too-confiding Abdol Khan indicated a place of rendezvous, where he arrived with a feeble escort, while Sevaji had concealed a considerable detachment. The rajah approached, admired the great man, prostrated himself at his feet, not without betraying some emotions of fear. "Perhaps," said he, "my lord means to deprive me of life." To convince him of the contrary, the general put his sword and dagger into the hands of his page. Sevaji instantly darted on him, and pierced him to the heart. He depended so much on the success of his wiles, that he once wrote to a Mogul general who was harassing his rear that he would advise him to retreat, for that sooner or later he would fall into the snares he had spread for him; and the Mogul believed him. To enable him the better to pillage Surat, which he called his trea-

fury, he went in person, almost alone, disguised as a fakir, into the city, examined its passages, and fixed his plan of attack. Sevaji three times took possession of this city, and each time made an enormous booty. That he might the more quickly arrive there, he demanded a passage of the rajah of Ramnagar, who willingly granted his request. Sevaji grew weary of this species of servitude, and made himself master of the rajah's dominions. To those who reproached him with this act of perfidy, he replied: "It is very natural that I should have 'the keys of my treasure.'" He made his escape from Aurengzebe, who would gladly have put him to death, but he was afraid lest he should irritate all the other Mahratta rajahs, by whom he was greatly esteemed. That emperor used to call him his mountain rat, because he had the art of burrowing under ground when in danger of being taken. This captain never fought except he were unable to succeed by stratagem; and his certain blow, his never-failing aim, if the expression may be allowed, was money, of which he was never sparing, either to batter down walls, open a way into fortresses, and to turn garrisons, and even armies, against their commanders. Notwithstanding his valour, he was not a man to expose himself to unnecessary danger. Finding himself pursued, and singled out in battle by the son of that same Abdol whom he assassinated, who called out to him—"This way traitor, cowardly Sevaji!" he turned

aside, saying very coolly—"He is a rash youth; let some one else dispatch him." The successors of this rajah are become very powerful. Under them the Mahrattas have driven the Moguls far from their territory, have invaded kingdoms, and made the Europeans tremble for their establishments.

GOLCONDA.

Every species of fruit, even grapes, of which they make very good wine; abundance of rice, and other grain, which is gathered twice a year; mines of diamonds; such are the riches of Golconda. Game and poultry is at so low a price, that it is more frequently given than sold. This climate is not extremely healthy. The earth, too much inundated by hot rains, sends forth noxious exhalations; but, on the other hand, these continual humectations nourish the germ of inexhaustible fecundity. The omrahs announce their approach by a most astonishing degree of pomp. Never do they appear in a city without being preceded by two elephants decorated with banners. At a certain distance march sixty horsemen, followed by others, who sound the trumpet and play the fife. The omrah then advances on horseback, surrounded by footmen; one carries the parasol over his master's head, another his pipe; others brush away the flies; and the cavalcade ends with two kettle-drummers mounted on camels. In the train

there is also usually seen a palanquin, in which the lord reclines, with a bouquet in his hand, smoking his pipe. Their riches are immense : one has been mentioned, among some others, who possessed four hundred weight of diamonds.

This wealth has sometimes rendered them masters of the throne ; that is to say, has enabled them to raise to it those princes whom they imagined they could govern with most facility. A king whom two omrahs gratified with the sceptre in that view, found means to shake off their ascendancy, without their being able to tax him with ingratitude. He divided the authority between them, in the persuasion that they would not be long before their jealousy of each other would lead them into disputes ; which shortly happened. Lest they should perceive that he meditated their ruin, he devoted his whole time to the pleasures his ministers were incessantly preparing for his amusement ; but while they thought him plunged in the lethargy of voluptuousness, he was secretly acquiring information of the state of his kingdom. Their rivalry, not being checked by the king's authority, who shut his eyes on their department, broke out into personal abuse. They permitted themselves, even in the royal palace, such scandalous alterations, as authorized the monarch to punish the one and expel the other, and to recover without any tumult or effusion of blood the power they had usurped. Aurengzebe obtained possession of this

kingdom towards 1695. Kings again have appeared there, and still continue to exist.

CANARA.

Canara, adjacent to the mountains called Gauts, Sect. 51. has a pure air, and is extremely fertile. Wild elephants find nourishment in its forests. This country to the present day has been under the government of women. The queen might marry whom she chose; but the husband never interfered with the administration. The Canarins are of a middle size, a tawny complexion, have very little beard, wear their hair long, are good soldiers, and combat with skill. They have an order of nobility, called naires. Their language is the same as is spoken along the whole coast. The widows of the naires burn themselves, except the queen. The devotees sacrifice themselves to their gods, by causing themselves to be crushed to death by the chariots which carry them; or to be cut to pieces by the hooks, falchions, fabres, and other sharp-edged instruments, with which the wheels are armed. There is great freedom allowed in this country. Persons come and go without being exposed to any enquiry. Theft is severely punished. There are numbers of Portuguese spread throughout the nation; but they consist of the very refuse of the populace, and their priests are the disgrace of Christianity.

MALABAR.

This name is given to all the territory west of cape Comorin, and a small part of the eastern side, extending about a hundred and fifty leagues along the coast, and thirty on an average, though sometimes not more than eight or ten, inland: but the language of this nation is spoken much further up the country, a proof that they once inhabited the interior parts as a powerful people. The air is very salubrious. The soil, which is rather sandy, produces excellent fruits, which are peculiar to it; the jakka, of a prodigious size; the mango; the pepper plant; the cardamon, a seasoning much esteemed in India; cinnamon, but inferior to that of Ceylon; sandal wood, cassia, nux vomica, iron, steel; excellent timber for shipping; great numbers of birds, monkeys, wild deer; very venomous small serpents; and large ones, who even swallow men; but they are seen at a distance, and easily avoided, because they move with difficulty.

There are not any villages. All the houses in the country are separated, and from the top of a mountain have the appearance of scattered mole-hills. There are some fortified towns. The Dutch are very powerful here. Some Portuguese, as despicable as the Canarins, reside here. Both the men and women go almost naked. Their marriages are early.

All their kings from father to son bear the name of Samorin. Formerly no one was permitted to reign more than twelve years. At the expiration of that term he was obliged himself to cut his throat on a scaffold. To that custom another has succeeded, not without its danger. At the same period of twelve years, a great feast takes place, which continues many days. The last four guests, whoever they may be, may aspire to the crown by a desperate action. They must make their way through thirty or forty thousand guards who surround the Samorin, and kill him in his tent. He who gives him a mortal wound is king. A traveller saw one of these candidates penetrate into the prince's apartment and strike at him; but he was massacred. The Samorin does not receive his wife until she has passed three nights with the chief priest of the idols. Many of the naires submit to this custom, but, unlike their king, it is optional with them. Some Jews are found there, who claim their descent from the tribe of Manasseh, transported by Nebuchadnezzar to the farthest extremity of his vast empire. They became so powerful as to buy, it is said, the little kingdom of Cranganor, which constitutes a part of the Samorin's dominions, and which they actually inhabit as his subjects.

The water of this country is extremely unwholesome, and causes the legs to swell. It is reported that there is a harbour of slime or mud,

unlike any other in the world. It lies near cape Comorin, and is a flat shore of about a league in extent, where the flood rushes in with impetuosity at high water, and loses itself as in a sieve, leaving the ships in a soft bed, scarcely sensible of the slightest agitation: another tide will bring them back again. At the farthest extremity of the cape, which does not exceed three leagues in extent, two seasons are united. In this neck of land a range of mountains, running longitudinally, separates summer and winter, by serving as a barrier against the cold winds, and hot winds, that alternately blow; but we should be too credulous implicitly to give credit to the relations of those travellers who relate, that in the same garden, of "five hundred paces square, the trees are loaded with fruit and blossoms on one side, while on the other they are stripped of all their leaves."

The Malabars are black, but not so ugly as the Africans. They are finely formed; prefer little women to tall ones. They are treacherous, yet notwithstanding shudder at the idea of poisoning. Patience is their chief virtue, but still it must not be put to too severe trials: however, they never seek revenge but by honourable means. They are divided into tribes—that of the princes, the clergy, the naires, the shopkeepers, and the labourers and workmen. The crown is hereditary; but not in a direct line: it descends to the most aged of the princes; therefore it is unusual to see a young so-

vereign. On his ascending the throne he creates a prime-minister, on whom devolves the whole care of the administration without reserve. The king is only known to exist from the pomp which surrounds him when he goes out. The same ostentation in proportion attends the progress of the princes and princesses.

The clergy are very powerful. Some of their chiefs are sovereigns as well in temporal as in spiritual concerns. They influence the government. The ecclesiastics of the second class confine themselves to religion. There are possessions appropriated to this tribe: in it also are comprized the magicians, who are held in great veneration. The naires follow the profession of arms, and are not rich; but their fidelity may be depended on by those who employ them as an escort in travelling. Never do they either abandon or betray those they attend; and if unfortunately any one under their protection were to be killed, they would not survive him; for if they did, they would be branded as cowards. In the last tribe is found a wretched cast, called Poulichis. All intercourse with the other tribes is forbidden them. They are permitted neither to build houses nor to clothe themselves in cloth. They cover themselves with leaves, or with stubble, fastened together with strings, and live in holes in the earth, or in trees; and even those must be at a distance from inhabited places, and cultivated fields. When they see any one ap-

proaching, they howl like dogs to make them turn away, or else flee with all speed lest they should be killed by those who should be exposed to breathe the same air as they. They run with great agility, and are very good hunters. In fact, that is their only resource. The cause is not known that originally consigned an entire race of men to so cruel an humiliation.

In Malabar, independently of the religion common to all India, which will be noticed, every individual creates his own divinity, as a tree, a dog, or serpent. It is, perhaps, a consequence of the dogma of the metempsychosis, which is generally adopted. They, however, believe in one only supreme God. Their pagodas, or temples, are gloomy, and blackened with the continual smoke of the lamps. The distinctions between the casts are rigorously observed. There are corporal punishments for the superior ranks who degrade themselves by low alliances, as well as for the inferior who aspire too high. The pride of birth is no-where carried to so ridiculous an extravagance. The upper tribes not only would refuse to eat and drink with those beneath them, they would not even taste of food prepared by them, or drink water from the same wells. Both sexes are uncovered from the head to the waist. The women adorn themselves with jewels, which they profusely wear on every part of their bodies, and stretch their ears, that they may wear the more. They here

make themselves amends for the other species of polygamy, and are allowed to have a dozen husbands. The children all belong to the mother's tribe, for it would be difficult for them to know the fathers. So many husbands exempts them from the necessity of burning themselves.

The smallest theft is punished with loss of life. There are not any prisons. The criminal is chained, and remains where he is till judgment is past, which is not long. The sentence of death can be pronounced by the king only, and is without appeal. The first man who chances to pass, even one of the chief nobility, is obliged to execute it. Any person who cannot make another pay what he owes him, has recourse to a judge. He sends an officer with a little stick, who draws a circle round the debtor, and orders him in the king's name not to pass it, until the creditor is satisfied. If he were to infringe the command, he would suffer death. They write on large leaves of reeds, which grow in their swamps. These are strung together, dried in the smoke, carefully put by, and preserve the writing for a length of time. The Malabar language is spoken in all the interior part of the peninsula; and even as far as the Maldivé islands. The Malabars are well armed, and exercise themselves in fencing. Ordeals by duel and fire are common. Those who do not rob on land are great pirates, glory in it, and treat their prisoners extremely ill. Slavery is a very hard state among them. There

are hospitals belonging to their temples where the poor are received and fed, and possessions which are called sacred that are appropriated to them. It is forbidden under pain of death to shed blood there, even in the last extremity, and in defense of life; the law in this respect is so rigid, that if the criminal escaped, his nearest relation would be substituted. The altars in their pagodas are never stained with gore, their offerings are composed of fruit, provisions, and every inanimate thing. Their idols are extremely numerous, and very singular; it would frequently be difficult to divine what they represent, except the sun and moon. Their festivals are pompous; they consist of processions, preceded by fasts, but practised only by the priests. The Malabars approach their king with the same veneration they do their gods. In such high respect do they consider old age, that a man dares not sit down in the presence of his senior.

A traveller who should have to traverse the coast from the gulph of Cambay to Cape Comorin would be neither surprized nor interested by the customs he would find in Malabar, because they are nearly alike; consequently it would be useless, to give an idea of the peninsula, to describe to the reader the transactions of the other kingdoms and provinces which remain to be mentioned. Madura has a king. There are pearls found in its seas. In Masava there is a very extraordinary

bridge, if a continuity of rocks may thus be named, which appear to be hewn for a length of way to join the island of Ramanancor to the continent. Some of them are eighteen feet in diameter.

As in some countries all amazing productions are ascribed to the devil, so the Indians constantly, with greater reason, say that this was constructed by the gods. At Tranquebar is a Danish colony, the residence of some very learned and zealous missionaries. In the Carnatic lie Pondicherry and Madras ; whose rivalry have but too frequently given rise to obstinate and ruinous wars, which avenge the Indians for European usurpations. The province of Ikkery, the kingdom of Myfore, the province of Orissa, are very agreeably situated, have no fixed government, and often belong to the first occupiers. The Mahrattas have sometimes remained there for a time.

In the Myfore reside the Malayans, a humane people, rather as tributaries than subjects. They are divided into villages, which have each its judge. Their festivals are cheerful, in which their young girls play on the flute, the flageolet, and the tabor. The Malayans have only one wife at a time, and pay the greatest respect to the tombs of their ancestors. They easily become christians, if persuaded to it.

RELIGION OF THE HINDOOS.

Hindoos'
religion.

Did not the Hindoos occupy so remarkable a portion of the globe, we should not have been desirous of preserving the memory of those ridiculous absurdities, which are the foundation of their religion, and dishonourable to the human mind. But these flights of the imagination are the dogmas, the chimeras of a great nation; they, therefore, ought to find a place in the history of the world. We will, however, take the precaution of separating them in such a manner as not to confound the opinions adopted by the reflecting part of the nation, with those blindly followed by the commonalty.

The doctrines of the Hindoos are contained in four volumes brought from heaven, consequently sacred. The first treats of the origin of all things, the nature of God, of the soul, of good and evil; the second, of sovereigns; the third, of ethics; the fourth, of religious rites and ceremonies; but this unfortunately is lost. The bramins, who are already extremely powerful, say that if the fourth existed they should be much more so. The people are not acquainted with these books: they are not publicly read: but there are others in common use, that treat of the popular theology, which is polytheism.

The Almighty God, inclined to manifest his

excellence, created four elements—earth, air, fire, and water. He waved a great reed across the water, and there came forth an egg, which he placed in the midst of the firmament, and called the lower world. There he created a sun, a moon, stars, every kind of animal, a man and woman, who produced four sons, each having dispositions analagous to the four elements. Brahma, of a terrestrial constitution, and consequently melancholy, was chosen to give laws and precepts to mankind, for which his grave and serious temper was well suited. Cutteri, with a fiery temperament, had a martial soul. To him was assigned the government of the kingdom, and in his hands is a sword, the symbol of victory and empire. Shudderi, phlegmatic, mild, and tractable, of the nature of water, and destined for commerce. To him they have given scales and weights. Wife or Weys, volatile as air, received a genius for invention. He carries a basket full of tools. God created each of them a wife, and placed these wives in the four corners of the world. They went in search of them, and thus peopled the four parts. Their descendants became corrupted, and drew on themselves celestial wrath, which burst on them in tempests, and an universal deluge. Their bodies were destroyed, but their souls were received into the bosom of the Almighty,

That he might not lose the fruits of his creation, the Deity determined to renovate the human race by the means of three persons more perfect than

the first. He descended on a mountain, and said: "Rise Bremaw, the first of creatures of the second age." Bremaw (or Brama) appeared, and adored his Creator. Vistnou and Rudderi also arose from the bosom of the earth. God assigned each of them a function. To Bremaw the power of creating, to Vistnou that of preserving, and to Rudderi, of destroying. He is the lord of death, and of all physical evils. In his hand is seen whatever may be considered a punishment for sin. Bremaw becoming penetrated with his creative faculty, was seized in every part of his body with violent pains. His belly swelled; he felt excruciating tortures, until the burthen at length forced a passage through both his sides, and there came forth twins of different sexes. They produced three couples, who peopled the west, the north, and the south. Vistnou provided for their subsistence and preservation; and Rudderi distributed the scourges of sickness and death, in proportion as mankind drew on themselves these evils by their corruption and vices; but that they might avoid them, the Almighty once more descended on the mountain, and from the bosom of an obscure cloud, from which shone some rays of his glory, he gave Bremaw a book of precepts, and enjoined him to teach them to mankind.

This volume is divided into three parts. The first contains the moral law, and the explanation of each precept: the second, the ceremonial law. In the third the human race is subdivided into

tribes ; and here are given the rules prescribed to each of them. Eight commandments constitute the moral law. 1st, An inhibition against killing any living creature, because it has a soul as well as man. 2d, Against looking at, or listening to, what is evil ; speaking ill, eating flesh, and touching any unclean thing. 3d, Prescribes the time and manner of adoration. 4th, Forbids lying with an intention of deceiving others, either in commerce, bargains, or contracts. The 5th commands beneficence towards every one, especially towards the poor. By the 6th all oppression, either directly or indirectly, is prohibited. The 7th regulates the festivals, orders their being enjoyed free from excess, and preceded by fasts and prayers. Lastly, the 8th forbids every species of theft, the appropriation of whatever has been intrusted by virtue of any office, and enjoins the being satisfied with the salaries appointed ; for no one has a right to that which is the property of another.

Then follow the ceremonial laws, which consist in ablutions, anointings, prostrations, the times and modes of which are particularized. There are saints to be invoked on different occasions. Some of them preside over marriages, others over journeys, commerce, maladies, and battles. When we view the creatures, they say, especially of the sun and moon, which they call the eyes of the deity, they direct our attention towards the Creator. The third

part of the sacred book is filled with observations on the distinctions of tribes.

Notwithstanding the wisdom of the precepts, and the duties prescribed for their observance, the human race is corrupted three times ; in despite of the care of Vistnou, the preserver, and notwithstanding his entreaties, God commanded Rudderi, the destroyer, to let loose the winds, to call up the waters from the bottomless abyss, and the world was reduced to a chaos. All the human race perished, except one just man, named Koli, who was preserved, and renovated it. At that era the mission of Bremaw the instructor and Rudderi the destroyer was at an end. They were translated to heaven into the bosom of God. There only remained Vistnou the preserver, who will also be recalled thither at the termination of this age, and at that last catastrophe the world will be consumed by fire. In the division of the casts between the descendants of Koli, a remarkable change took place. God hurled destruction on the cutteris, or warriors, they being too wicked, and replaced them by the rajahs, or rajahpoots, whom he drew from the order of the bramins. Such is the primitive theology of the Hindoos, which is probably preserved by the learned, but which in the populace has degenerated into polytheism.

Truth is unity ; but in the course of error it

is difficult to stop. As soon therefore as the Indians acknowledged more than one god, they fell into every kind of absurdity relative to the generation, power, character, inclinations, dissensions, and combats, of these gods. The three first are Brama, Vistnou, and Ruddiren, or Ishuren. The inferior to them are their wives, children, and favourites, who, however, are also gods, forming the second class. The third is composed of sentas; a species of angels, charged with the care of the universe. The fourth, of ashurens, giants, and evil demons, who likewise partake of the nature of the divinity. To decypher the lineage of these gods would be a labour, of which the Hindoos, even the most expert, are incapable. On the self-creation of these gods, or their generations from one another, on their irresistible power, and their other qualities, each cast, and one may say each individual of a cast, has his separate opinion, which is either encouraged or otherwise by the chiefs, according to their interest. We will confine ourselves to the principal facts relative to these absurd deities, without taking any great pains in correcting them. What imports it that we are mistaken with respect to errors? There is one thing worthy remark, that even the most enthusiastic polytheists, in recurring to the origin of things, always set out with one only principle, which they can find no manner of defining; and which will

always continue a mystery to the human understanding.

Water alone co-existed with God. He made a leaf of a tree in the form of a child float upon it, whence Brama came forth. God gave him the power of creating the universe. Others pretend that it was not to him, but Vistnou, whose origin is very obscure, to whom was given the power of creating. A way was imagined to reconcile them, by saying that Brama creates, and Vistnou preserves. Ishuren, placed between, reconciles them when they disagree, and even punishes them if they resist. Thus, on such an occasion, he cut off one of Brama's heads, who, however, still possesses four. Brama resides in the highest of the eight heavens, nearest to the abode of God. He has had two wives, who have produced him a multitude of children. Of this number is Kassiopa, the father of the good and bad angels. With respect to his son Sagatra, who had no less than five hundred heads, and a thousand arms, he is born of the blood which flowed when Ishuren cut off one of his father's heads.

Vistnou, whom the care of the world would have too much employed, has created administrators. It was to him that the sacred book called Vedam, containing all these fine things, was brought in a shell. He has had millions of wives. His two constant ones who never forsake

him are: Leshimi, the goddess of fortune, thought to be the Indian Venus, found in a large rose, on a sea of milk. The other Pagoda, the mother of the gods. The first is continually scratching her spouse's head; the second rubbing his feet which she holds in her lap. With so many wives he has only had three sons, and one of them was born of the blood that issued from a wound in his finger.

Vishnou is celebrated for his ten metamorphoses, or incarnations. The motive and end of each is both useless and extravagant: they do not however appear such to the Indians. The first time he transformed himself into a fish, to draw the Vedam from the bottom of the ocean; the second, into a tortoise, to burrow under ground to go in quest of ambrosia. The third, into a hog, in pursuit of an enormous giant who had rolled up the earth like a sheet of paper, and had carried it off on his shoulders into the infernal regions. Vishnou catches him, retakes the earth, but being unable to set it upright, addresses himself to a tiny faint about an inch high who replaces it. The sea thinks proper to ridicule this pigmy: he swallows it up entirely, and disgorges it back through his nostrils; and hence is it that it is salt. The fourth time he was transformed into a monster, half man and half lion, to punish a giant who had usurped the whole earth. The fifth, into a mendicant bramin,

to attack a subaltern god named Mavali, who also was the usurper of the world. Vistnou asked him only for three feet of ground to build a hut on, Mavali grants his request. Vistnou rests one foot on this spot of land, and becomes a mighty giant who with the other foot covers the rest of the earth, and thus wrests it from the domination of Mavali. However, he kindly consoles him, by making him porter of paradise.

The sixth time Vistnou transforms himself into a beautiful child, and cuts off his mother's head. The father is killed by his brother-in-law, the puissant Cutteri, to whom he had refused the white cow of abundance. To avenge him, Vistnou exterminates the whole race of the Cutteris. The father and mother revive, and have a son named Ram, which is the branch of the Rajahs. The seventh time, under the appearance of this Ram, Vistnou slays a giant who had ten heads and twenty arms, pursues the ravishers of his sister to the island of Ceylon, where he passes over a bridge of flying stones. The eighth time, Vistnou takes the figure of Kristna, a truly waggish spark, who lies with effrontery, steals the milk people's pails to put them to a nonplus, and hides the women's clothes while they are bathing to see them naked. But after these youthful frolics he becomes a god of importance; cures disorders, raises the dead, changes huts into palaces, dethrones

tyrants, reinstates deposed kings, punishes oppressors, and relieves the oppressed. Some shepherds who had made him their king he multiplies to an hundred and sixty millions. They grow wicked : Kristna engages them in quarrels among themselves. They destroy each other. Kristna preserves sixteen thousand women, whom he carries with him into heaven to keep him company. Though all the earth were of paper, say the Hindoos, it would be insufficient to write all the miracles of Kristna. In his ninth transformation, Vistnou took the figure of Bodha. He remains on earth in that form, which is entirely human. He employs his whole time in prayer, without working any miracles. When he shall have thus passed thirty-four thousand and thirty years, he will disappear. This Bodha is the god Fo, who is adored by more than the half of Asia, who resides at Limi in Great Thibet, under a human form, and is reputed never to die, because he is renewed. The tenth and last metamorphosis is not yet accomplished. Vistnou is to appear on a winged white horse. This Indian pegasus stands upright in heaven on three legs. At the instant decreed by the Almighty, the horse will let fall his suspended hoof, and strike the earth with such amazing force that the serpent Signana, unable to support the world, will retire. The tortoise, feeling all the weight thrown on his back, will plunge into

the sea, and drown the earth. Thus will be terminated the last age, and the first will recommence, but there will be no resurrection.

Ishuren is as extraordinary a being as Vistnou. Like him, he has very singular metamorphoses and strange adventures, which would convey nothing amusing after those already related, because, except some trivial circumstances, they are similar to each other. They consist of journeys through the air, defeats of giants, heads with six faces, others with three eyes, one of which consumes whatever it looks on, and causes women's attire to fall off. He becomes a mendicant during twenty-four years, and is the patron of the wandering joghis and fakirs. He sends his daughter to a feast, decorates her with the serpents with which he is usually surrounded, his parasol of peacocks' feathers, a chain of human bones over a tiger's skin, and an elephant's hide. He is highly offended that the guests, among whom were Brama and Vistnou, should laugh at this motley accoutrement. He determines to punish them for the affront offered his daughter, but they make their escape, leaving the sun and moon at his mercy. He dashes out one of the former's teeth, and gives the moon so complete a beating that some of the bruises still remain.

Ishuren is the Priapus of India, the god of lewdness; to this quality he joins those of slug-

gard and glutton, which do not degrade the former. The wives he chose equalled him in lubricity; two among them, at the sight of some monkeys and elephants which approached them, entreated him to transform them and himself. From this commerce was born a monkey and an elephant. Every part of him is fruitful. From some humidity he let fall on the earth sprung a palm-tree, whose liquor was so agreeable to him, that he returned to the wood, and frequently came back drunk; his wife watched him, and intoxicated herself likewise; and hence is it that Ishuren is continually dancing. These indecent absurdities would have been omitted, if it were not necessary to mention the author of the impure worship of the Lingam. This is the resemblance of the sexual parts of a man and woman. They are placed in the country and in their temples; and to such a degree do they carry their extravagant notions, that newly married couples are taken to some of those priapi, where the husbands return thanks to these infamous deities. The women wear the lingam round their neck, ornamented with precious stones; the most devout, whatever is their rank, in some districts, not content with the resemblance, run out to meet the fakirs, as soon as they hear the tinkling bell, and prostrate themselves before these men destitute of every covering. The worship of the lingam is very

fervent in Malabar, and beyond it. With these three first gods, Brama, Vistnou, and Ishuren, their children are acknowledged of the second rank, and the children of the latter, of the third. The imaginations and interests of the priests have multiplied them to infinity, and always with the same absurdities.

Pagodas,
worship,
ministers.

The pagodas have three divisions; the first open to every comer, the second full of frightful idols, the third the sanctuary of the god. The priests only enter the two last; their offerings are rice, fruits, gold, silver, precious wood. Lights and incense are used. The women are not the last to attend them; as there are very few who are not attached to some of the priests, who go to their houses to instruct them. They crowd to the pilgrimages, and round those penitents who devote themselves to cruel torments, to chastisements, chains, and fire, over which they suspend themselves. Ashes consecrated by prayer, especially those of cow-dung, are the chief ingredients of their purifications; with these they mark their faces, and anoint their bodies: they use them likewise in their exorcisms, in which they make use of a wand to chase away the demons. Their opinions are by no means uniform on the nature of souls; the greater part think that they are immortal and eternal, and that they constitute a part of the divinity. In consequence of this, they

suppose them in all things, even in plants. They believe in transmigration, in punishments after death, and in a sort of purgatory.

The bramins are the principal priests born such. Their customary duties are to pray and instruct; some are extremely skilful. By one of their laws they are forbidden, under pain of sacrilege and death, to reveal their dogmas to those who are not of their religion: therefore, except the mere exterior part of their religion, there is no certainty of their reporting the truth, or whether they do not purposely misrepresent it to the curious, to whom they will not give a direct refusal. Some priests live quite alone, others form societies; some kinds of prelates are very rich, inferior ones in easy circumstances; others profess the most rigid poverty, and not only beg, but even wait till alms are carried to them. It would be endless to attempt to discriminate the signs of the different sects and orders; their strings, scarfs, fillets worn across or perpendicular, girdles, pieces of linen twisted on the head and round the body; the mode of cutting the beard and hair, of covering the feet, the coloured or indented traces on their naked flesh; in a word, a multiplicity of marks, which have each their peculiar property, and a mystical origin.

India, that vast region of the world, as well within as beyond the Ganges, professes the re-
Religion of
Fo.

ligion of the bramins, which is tritheism, or the worship of three gods destined by the supreme Being to create and govern the universe. The people in the vicinity of these Indians have, on the contrary, for their first object of worship, as has already been observed, a man who about a thousand years prior to the christian æra published his false religion. While the theology of the bramins proposed three gods as objects of adoration, Fo pretended he was the supreme Being invested with a human nature. The Indian deities were invisible to their worshippers. He announced himself as existing corporeally among his followers, and received their homage in person; however, that they might not convict him of imposture, if after seeing him grow old he should reappear young and blooming, he gave out that he should from time to time ascend to heaven, and return with different features. This miracle is effected at Thibet, which is the residence of Fo, and the seat of his religion, which obtains in Great Tartary, from the west to the east, in China, at Japan, and is six times more extensive than that of the bramins. We shall find it pervading the eastern peninsula beyond the Ganges, which we are entering. There we shall observe, as well as in the western, and from the same cause, a dearth of incident, and a void in that respect, which we will endeavour to fill with an account

of the customs, which have also known their vicissitudes, and have occasioned some.

EASTERN PENINSULA.

The eastern part of India, beyond the Ganges, lies between Thibet, the gulphs of Cochin China, Tonquin, and of Siam, the Indian sea, as far as the straits of Malacca, and the gulph and province of Bengal. It is rich in fruits, elephants, metals, silks, drugs, rice, pepper, oil, gold, and precious stones. We will only mention the kingdoms of Azem and Tipra. The inhabitants of the first are handsome and well made; their soil produces every thing except corn; they have a peculiar sort of silk, which they render of a very fine white, but it is brittle. They scarcely wear any clothing, practise polygamy; were, they say, the inventors of gun-powder, which from their territory passed to Pegu and China. Very ancient cannon has been found amongst them, and their powder is excellent. The kingdom of Tipra is still less deserving notice. Goitres are not uncommon there. It is joined to that of Arracan.

ARRACAN.

This kingdom, in which lies Bengal, the finest gem in the crown of the English in India, is more extensive along the coasts than in depth. Buffaloes, elephants, and tigers, are numerous,

Arracan, between Tipra, Ava, Pegu, and Bengal.

and ravage the country, which produces every thing in abundance, except wheat and rye. The heat is generally extremely great, yet it sometimes hails. A vapour which daily covers the earth to a small height obliges the inhabitants to raise their houses on piles: they are rather commodious than elegant. An apartment of the king's is mentioned, called the *golden-hall*, which is entirely inlaid with that metal. There also is to be seen a canopy of massive gold, round which are suspended an hundred ingots of forty pounds in weight, seven idols, of the height of a man, two inches in thickness, ornamented with rubies, emeralds, sapphires, very large diamonds, the production of the country. In the centre of the hall is a square stool two feet wide, of massive gold, supporting a casket, covered with precious stones, containing two rubies, as long as the little finger, and as large as the base of a fowl's egg. These jewels have occasioned most sanguinary wars, less on account of their value, than because their possession was considered as a title of royalty, when the empire existed. The emperor of Arracan was then entitled; *Possessor of the white elephant, and of the two ear-rings, superior to twelve kings who place their head under the soles of his feet.* The capital is situate near a lake whose dyke is easily broken to drown the enemy, if they took the city:—a most singular kind of defense!

Although this country is extremely hot, the inhabitants not only wear clothes, but load themselves with attire, which is a degree of luxury. The women cover their arms, legs, and necks, with rings, the rattling of which announces their approach: they are rather fair. The husbands do not prefer receiving them in a virgin state; but generously pay those who have been willing to precede them. Their favourite viands are rats, mice, serpents, and stale fish; at least according to travellers, who appear to have culled their observations from the very refuse of the populace. The great only are able to defray the expense of the cure of a patient in the last extremity. When he is in that state, the priests and relations are assembled, a great feast is given, during which the nearest relative, whether man or woman, is obliged to dance and jump till he falls; another succeeds. If the patient die in spite of the dancing, the priests say that the gods have out of kindness removed him from this world, to recompense him in another. In that case his soul, after some rest in paradise, will animate horses, lions, eagles, elephants, and other esteemed animals. The bodies of the rich are burned, the rest are thrown into the river, sometimes even before the patient has expired, to spare him the languors and sufferings of illness. These carcases sink, rise again, float on the surface of the water, and are torn to pieces by

the birds of prey which cover the banks of these lakes and rivers:—a most horrible and disgusting sight! They carry on very little commerce themselves, but merchants go in quest of their productions, which are timber, lead, tin, elephants' teeth, and varnish, the best in the world. The Arracanians make beauty to consist in a broad flat forehead; this attraction is procured by means of a piece of lead which they bind on their children. Their religion in its principle is the same as that of the bramins; namely, the worship of three gods; but they do not bear the same names as at Malabar, nor do the priests, who are here called talapoins. In other respects we find the same superstition, the same errors of imagination; for the statues of the gods, which are in amazing numbers, have some of them six faces, hundreds of hands, heads or feet of animals, and the most strange attitudes. They have the same orders also and functions among the priests, some living in solitude, others united under an hierarchy, appointed to pray and instruct. These people join to their idolatrous superstition, the belief in presages; they observe with anxiety the meeting a particular animal, and are terrified at some, and pleased at others. The talapoins interpret these auguries in such a manner as leaves them not without a recompense.

It seems that there always exists a sort of

rivalry between the kings of Arracan and Pegu; but the hostilities it has given rise to are not known before 1615. At that period the king of Pegu, who had taken up arms to oblige the king of Arracan to deliver up a white elephant, the object of their mutual ambition, did not dare to venture on a descent, because he saw the inhabitants on the point of opening their sluices, and of inundating the whole territory; which is a proof that they were acquainted with hydrography, and the science of levelling. Sebastien Gonfales Tibao, born at a village of Portugal, from a petty trader in salt, became master of a formidable army and a considerable fleet, and supported a distinguished part in this war. He began his career as a pirate, and associated with him robbers like himself, who took possession of an island of some importance. Tibao their leader established there a real sovereignty, fought under his own standard, and paid the viceroy of Goa but a simple homage. He caused himself to be engaged by the king of Arracan; but he betrayed him, and perpetrated every species of deceit and cruelty. His power was destroyed by a Mogul governor, by whom the unhappy king of Arracan was also attacked. There is no account of Tibao's fate. The Arracanian supported his pretension against the Mogul. After that prince's death dissensions arose between his children for the possession of the white elephant and the jewels. They en-

gaged in war, and perished in it towards 1690, with all their family. The talapoins had taken the precaution of having the jewels, the objects of their dispute, committed to their charge, and have since that time so carefully concealed them, that there is no discovering what has become of them.

Under these kings there was a singular manner of choosing their concubines. Every year the twelve most beautiful young girls of the kingdom were taken and dressed in the finest white linen. They were left exposed to the sun-beams till their attire was quite moistened by perspiration. They were then carried to some expert persons, who judged by the scent of the moisture whom of them merited the preference. These concubines were not only instructed in music, and dancing, and every fascinating talent, but also trained to arms; and dispersed through the monarch's apartments, whom they served as guards. Superstition is said to have induced one of these princes to commit an act, perhaps the most barbarous in the records of history. He had been made to believe that he would not long survive his coronation; on which occasion, he consulted a famous mahometan magician on the means proper to avert the threatened misfortune. The wretch, who would have delighted in seeing the whole human race put to death if differing from him in religion, told him, he must make a composition of the

hearts of six thousand of his idolatrous subjects, four thousand white cows, and two thousand pigeons; that he must besides inhabit a house whose foundation rested on pregnant women, and was sprinkled with the blood of eighteen thousand persons. The monster complied with the injunction and no doubt credited the conjurer's science, as he did not die.

PEGU.

Pegu, extending along the sea coast, is surrounded at the back by mountains inhabited by the Barmas who have subdued this kingdom. There is no division between them except by two large rivers, which flow from Tibet. They inundate Pegu as the Nile does Egypt, and diffuse the same fertility. The tide on the coasts flows in with the swiftness of an arrow, and returns also with prodigious force. Pegu produces the finest rubies in the world, and whatever is necessary for sustenance, as rice, fruits, poultry, game, fish in extreme plenty, silk, and flax. The capital, Pegu, now removed to Ava, was six leagues in circumference, and though at present the residence of a viceroy, is only inhabited by a small number of people. There are two temples, one of which is constantly shut, and the other as constantly open. In the first there is an idol, in a recumbent posture, thirty feet in length. He has slept during six

Pegu, between Arracan, the Barmas kingdom of Siam, and the gulph of Bengal.

thousand years, and will only awake to destroy the world.

The Peguans are distinguished from the Barmas who have subdued them, for the latter prick themselves with a bodkin, rub into the punctures pounded charcoal, and thus imprint on the skin indelible figures which are visible through the transparent muslin which covers them. Their teeth are naturally white, but they blacken them, that they may not resemble those of the canine species. The women wear very little clothing. The reason they give for it is, that the men were become so exceedingly abandoned, and had conceived so great a contempt for the women, that population suffered by it. The queen who then reigned, thought of recalling them back to nature by a lascivious immodesty, which is still practised.

It is difficult to carry the refinements and effrontery of debauchery further than is done at Pegu. Travellers may marry for a certain term. They take wives for the time of their stay, quit them on their departure, and these women are but the more admired. It is said that there have been hermaphrodites produced in Pegu.

The king inherits all the property of those who have no children, and the third part of those who have. Their music, which is composed both of string and wind instruments, is agreeable. They pray to the devil, and make him

offerings, particularly during sickness. They depend more on their supplications to him, not to harm them, than on the physicians. They believe in the two principles, and in the metempsychosis. The Peguans are addicted to commerce, and their country produces a great variety of commodities proper for its support.

It is more especially between the Peguan traders that the manner of making bargains is practised by holding the hand under a piece of linen, and touching the fingers and joints, to express the price. Each motion has its signification, and cannot be divined by the other persons present.

Like the other Indians, the Peguans acknowledge one supreme God. Their three inferior gods have a different appellation from those of the bramins, and of Arracan, and their subalterns are also very numerous. Besides all these, they worship the devil, whom they both re-gale and flatter, in despite of the talapoins, who oppose this superstition as much as in their power. The talapoins keep the vow of celibacy, and only eat once a day. When the produce of the lands round their temples are not sufficient for their maintenance, they send the novices in search of more. These young candidates are extremely modest. When they present themselves at a door, they give three gentle strokes on a little drum they carry. If it be not opened

they repeat them ; if no one appears, they go away without saying any thing ; though it seldom happens that they are suffered to depart without first receiving fruit, vegetables, rice, and roots, their only nourishment ; for they are held in great veneration on account of their exemplary lives. Some live alone in the woods, or in other sequestered places. Their lives are very simple, and they practise those virtues they inculcate. Humanity, charity to all men, the precepts of the natural law, are the subjects of their discourses, which they all, without exception, as well those in solitude as those in societies, deliver once a week to the populace, whom they assemble by the sound of a drum.

There are no religious disputations among them ; the talapoins consider those of a different persuasion without rancour or displeasure. God, say they, takes pleasure in variety. The exemplary lives of the talapoins in so corrupt a country are truly admirable. Their countrymen reward their virtues with the most profound veneration. They have a high-priest, whose funeral is magnificent. They throw sky-rockets containing five hundred pounds of powder into a trunk of a tree, which ascend to a very great height. We are far behind them in pyrotechny.

The kings of Pegu were once extremely powerful. Mention is made of armies comprizing

a million of men, with eight hundred elephants, and a most numerous artillery, but badly conducted. The nobles were held in great subjection, and employed in the public labours like the rest of the people. The king never appeared unless surrounded by a splendid retinue. He gave audience twice every week, and publicly administered justice. He had only one wife; but he maintained a multitude of concubines.

The first of their kings reigned in the seventh century. They say that he was a fisherman. He no doubt began by rendering himself master of a small district, whence himself, and his predecessors, during a series of six centuries, extended their power to such a degree as to subjugate nineteen kingdoms to their dominion. Such was the empire of Pegu when the Portuguese sent thither an ambassador in 1519. The prince with whom they formed a treaty was assassinated. Para Mandara, king of the Barmas, his tributary, took advantage of this event to usurp the throne. His subjects, the inhabitants of the mountains and forests that surround Pegu, habituated to a life of hardship, easily subdued the Peguans, who were plunged in luxury. The Barmas fell in a mass on Pegu; the Peguans also rose in a mass to repulse them; whence it happened, if their historians do not exaggerate, that armies took the field consisting of nineteen hundred thousand men, from five to six thousand

elephants, and as many cannon : however, the conquering party were indebted for their victory to about three or four hundred Portuguese, who fought under their banners :—a convincing proof of the superiority of discipline over numbers.

Having become masters of Pegu, the Barma monarchs dragged both their new and old subjects successively against the kingdoms of Arracan, Ava, and Siam. It is difficult to conjecture what number of men were left in those countries whence the conquerors issued, and how they were able to move in their conquests. It is true indeed that they made room by most dreadful massacres. But it signifies little to talk of the temperance of these people ; they must have had some provisions, though it were only to go from one place to another, unless we implicitly give credit to these travellers who gravely assure us, that in a scarcity of rats, mice, and insects, they lived on roots, leaves, and even flowers. With such soldiers one might conquer the world : consequently there is no reason to be astonished at the immense extent of territory comprized within the dominions of Chaumigrem, the most renowned emperor of Pegu, who flourished in 1567.

After the example of his predecessors, to obviate the possibility of rebellion from those princes whose thrones he usurped, he extirpated

the whole race. It was not, however, without some scruples. The following is the mode in which he tranquillized his conscience on the death of Shemindoo, a prince who had lawfully defended his crown against him. Chaumigrem caused him to be publicly beheaded. His body was cut into four quarters, and exposed during a day, with the head, that every one might see him, and be certain of his death. The ensuing day a bell tolled five times. At this signal twelve men, clothed in black robes, spotted with blood, their faces veiled, followed by twelve priests, came out of a house near the scaffold. After them walked Chaumigrem's uncle, who in his nephew's name very ceremoniously asked pardon of Shemindoo's mangled limbs for what had passed, offering to return him the kingdom, or to do him homage for it, and govern it in quality of his lieutenant. One of the priests replied to this discourse in the name of the deceased: "Since the king confesses his fault, I forgive him, and assign him the power of governing in my stead, according to the dictates of justice." A very magnificent funeral was then prepared for him. The conscientious Chaumigrem died in 1583.

After his death most horrible civil wars arose in the kingdom; the people endured all the evils which are the consequence of a dreadful famine. The sovereignty of Pegu, late so

powerful, passed under the dominion of those whom it had before subdued; under that of Arracan in 1606, and under that of Ava in 1613. Even a Portuguese, named Britos, originally a coal-merchant, erected a kingdom on the coast, of which he made an harbour, called Sirian, his capital. However he dared not assume the title of king towards the Portuguese; he contented himself with writing to the viceroy of Goa—Governor of Sirian and of Pegu, conquered by Brito. Like most other adventurers of the same sort, he could set no bounds to his ambition. His arrogance drew on him the indignation of the sovereign of Ava, who had become master of Pegu; he besieged the Portuguese in his fortress, took him, and impaled him. Pegu, notwithstanding its repeated revolutions, retains the title of kingdom. It is still known under that denomination, of whatever nation the prince may be by whom it is governed, whether of Arrakan, Ava, Barma, or Pegu.

Ava, between Bengal, Thibet, China, the kingdoms of Lao and Siam.

Ava. The kingdom of Ava is of great extent; its limits are better known than its interior parts. The Barmas are found here also either as conquerors or subjects. The features of the Avans, and several of their customs, have given reason to suppose them of Chinese origin. They have

suffered the indolence of the Peguans to creep in among them, and they also imitate their voluptuous customs. Their government in all other respects is extremely well conducted. Each governor corresponds with a minister, who every day transmits an account to the council of whatever occurs in the provinces. The king is present, though concealed, at these sittings. He only can sign a death-warrant; it runs thus; "Let such an one, convicted for such a crime, no longer trample the earth with his feet." He is thrown to the elephants. For crimes that are not accounted capital, he is banished, for a certain time to the forests; if he escape the elephants and tigers, after the expiration of the term he is permitted to return. He who lends never loses; if there be no other resource, the debtor and his family are sold; the lender has a right to buy them as slaves, and treat them as he thinks proper, even to the wife, but if so, the debt is paid.

There are ordeals in cases where proof is wanting; the accuser is obliged either to swallow a certain quantity of dry rice, or else the two parties are fastened to a stake in the river, and he who remains the longest under water is declared innocent. They make them also plunge their hand into boiling oil, or melted lead. The calumny which arraigns a man of dishonesty, or a woman of misconduct, if it were but a single

word, is not regarded with indifference ; the offender must prove the accusation, submit to the trial, or be punished. Slighter differences are reconciled by the priests, who make the parties present accept food from each other's hand ; this is the seal of reconciliation. It is an act of justice to allow the priest of Ava the praise of being humane, charitable, and hospitable. They receive poor travellers, provide them with clothing and nourishment, detain them till their recovery if they are sick or wounded, and give them letters of recommendation to gain admittance from convent to convent to the end of their journey.

The king of Ava spends the whole morning in administering justice. As soon as he has dined a trumpet sounds, which is a permission to all the kings of the earth to take their repast, as the emperor of Ava their sovereign lord has finished his. This surely is the smallest degree of subordination they can pay “ to the king of
“ kings, the relative of all the gods, who only
“ preserve the animals and maintain the regularity of the seasons for the affection they
“ bear him ; who is brother to the sun, the near
“ relation of the moon and stars, the absolute
“ master of the flux and reflux of the sea, king
“ of the white elephant, and of the twenty-four
“ umbrellas.” The termination of this phrase would be far from brilliant, were we not told

that in this proclamation the word *umbrella* signifies *crown*. The troops are only armed and paid in times of war. The rank of the officers is distinguished by the length of their pipes, and the joints which unite the tubes.

The kings of kings, the brothers of the sun and moon, are very little known in our part of the world. We know that they were still in being in the fifteenth century. It would be useless to follow them into the kingdoms of Mien and Jangomay which they have subjected. These kingdoms, if they exist, lie between Siam and China. It is presumeable that they are nothing more than deserts, and vast forests, in which a glade is here and there scattered, but thinly peopled. Some travellers, however, relate that they have seen towns, and speak of the customs of the inhabitants, which they say has a resemblance to those of the Arracaniens, the Peguans, and the Avans. They notice a practice adopted by all the men of these parts, that of buckling up their hair with little bells.

LAOS.

Excepting wine and corn, there is not any thing that is not to be found in the kingdom of Laos. It produces precious stones, metals, medicinal plants, incorruptible woods, and the best rice in the world, of a taste and flavour superior to every other. But this is to be understood of

Laos, between Siam, China, Tonquin, Cochin China, and Camboja.

the part of the country on the eastern side of the great river which traverses the kingdom, as well as the trees and fruits: on the western side the trees will be found stunted and ill grown, the rice hard and difficult to boil. Even the elephant and rhinoceros experience this difference; they are both larger and stronger to the east. The same river on flowing out of the kingdom presents another phenomenon. The fish attempting to pass the frontier in descending, and those ascending the stream, die precisely at the instant they reach the line of demarcation. The causes of this curious fact should be studied and verified by naturalists who are not prone to credulity. Ivory is very common. The Lanjans esteem it less than the horn of the rhinoceros, to which they attribute the virtue of bringing good fortune. Red amber is found in the forests, at the foot of very old mountain trees. There likewise the benzoin distils its balm; the ant fashions the lakka; and a sort of wild goat yields his musk to the hunter, which sells in the country for its weight in silver.

The Lanjans are humane, affable, civil, and obliging; neither deceitful nor liars; but indolent, addicted to women, and obstinately attached to witchcraft. Theft is severely punished: if there is a robbery committed on the highway, the neighbouring towns and villages are answerable for the damages. There are, however, robbers

who have the art of throwing people into a profound sleep, and keep them in this state until they have plundered them. Their usual food is rice. They wear clothing, and notwithstanding ornament themselves with marks which they imprint with a hot iron. The women are rather more decorated than the men. The latter have only one legitimate wife ; but as many concubines as they please. Their marriages are for life, and are thus solemnized. They choose the oldest couple they can find who have lived in perfect union, and solemnly promise in their presence to live the same till their death. There is something both august and affecting in this ceremony. Their obsequies are not performed till a month after their decease : they expend much more, as they themselves confess, to satisfy the pride of the living than the dead, who they are very conscious are in no want of this pomp, since their fate is already decided by the metempsychosis.

It is supposed that in very distant times the Lanjans lived in a republic ; and what would be very astonishing in Asia, that they then acknowledged only one God ; but that as soon as they admitted kings, they suffered themselves to be infested with the superstitions of their neighbours, and that this one only god became nothing more than the commander of the rest. Then the doctrine of Shaka, who is properly the Fo of

Thibet, spread among them. It was established there by means of the preaching, the zeal, and interest, of the talapoins, who are a very numerous body, divided into three classes or sects. The first devote themselves to the study of the origin of the world, of men and gods, or of the speculative part of religion, whose primitive simplicity they pervert by a thousand fabulous and ridiculous tales; the second teach the worship promulgated by Shaka; the third endeavour to reconcile the two others. They are called concordants or illuminated: their task is not the least difficult to fulfil.

They believe the earth is eternal; that it already has sustained several revolutions by water, and will experience more: the last will be by fire. The present race of mortals derive their origin from a god named Pon, Ta, Bo, Ba, Mi, Sonan. Descending from the heavens, he perceived a flower on the water; he cut it in two with a stroke of his cimeter, and from the flower arose a beautiful female, of whom he became enamoured. He would have been very happy to have married her; but the innocent beauty preferred a virgin state, and refused to listen to him. Pon, Ta, Bo, Ba, Mi, Sonan, thought it unworthy of a god like him to make use of violence: he placed himself at a distance where they could look at each other; and by the fire of his eyes caused her to become a mother, without her

losing her virginity. When the god had children, he began to plan means for their happiness on the earth; and for that purpose created the animals, fruits, plants, and whatever could add to their enjoyment; but he tasted very little himself. He grew weary, and sighed after the celestial abodes he had forsaken. The gods, offended at his having quitted them, would not receive him; however they suffered themselves to be prevailed on by a severe penance he endured, and admitted him to their secrets, there to enjoy the extasies of perfect bliss. The Lanjans have a variety of opinions on the origin of the blacks; but they may all be referred to this one, that they are the progeny of the demons, precipitated to the earth after a battle with the white gods.

Four gods governed the world; but three of them, fatigued with these cares, withdrew themselves to lead a tranquil life. The burthen fell then on Shaka, who would have been very glad to have tasted the sweets of annihilation; but the fear of seeing the world subverted if he abandoned it induced him to continue his vigilance over it, which he exerts by the power he invisibly imparts to statues, by breathing on them at the solemn feasts. His empire, after a period of five thousand years, will be destroyed by an impostor, a species of antichrist, who will overthrow the temples, break the statues and images, burn the books,

persecute all religions, and forbid their being exercised, especially that of Shaka, and will establish one entirely different from that of his predecessors.

Yet is this only the law of retaliation ; for, according to the avowal of the talapoints themselves, Shaka treated the god of the christians in the same manner. After having preserved the world during five thousand years, his great age rendered this god indolent. Shaka determined to punish him. The god, the better to move his compassion, assumed the appearance of a poor, abject man, and asked leave to govern only one year longer. The compassionate Shaka found a middle way of arranging things, which was to abandon to the superannuated god the poor and sterile west, and to keep the countries of the east for himself. The old god set off with a retinue by no means splendid ; but no sooner was he arrived in his dominions, than he suddenly displayed immense wealth, and performed some very extraordinary actions, well suited to procure him a number of sectaries. The report of these wonders reached the votaries of Shaka in the east, and thenceforward they considered him as an arrant rogue, who could only have acquired these treasures by theft. They placed spies round him, and were on the point of arresting him, when he disappeared. The orientals having missed the father, seized his only son, and cru-

cified him. The occidentals have still persisted in acknowledging the son for god, and in adoring him; because by delivering himself up to a voluntary death, though innocent, to expiate his father's faults, he proved by that great submission that he was more than man.

Such was the result of a conversation a missionary had with a talapoin. Some authors conjecture, and perhaps with reason, that the talapoin only invented and related this fable by way of recrimination against the missionary, who reviled his god Shaka, and exposed with contempt the absurdities of his doctrines. This appearance of disdain, and of acrimonious censure, is evident in whatever this same missionary relates of the talapoins. It should be remembered, that those of Arracan, of Pegu, and Ava, are represented to us as estimable, mild, humane, charitable, and very tolerant men. By what strange fatality should those of Lao be the exact reverse? There is reason to believe that the missionary, hurried away by the excess of his zeal, only beheld them with prejudiced eyes, and has accused the whole body with the vices of a few individuals, of which there always will be some in all large communities.

By the missionary's account, "the talapoins are lazy, idle, and sworn foes to all industry; their convents are so many seminaries of debauchery, the retreats of ignorant vagabonds;

“ the schools of every species of vice and abomination. They are reputed the most perfidious race in the whole kingdom, and are all the very refuse of the populace.” And these are the men who are esteemed and revered by the nobles, and in whom they repose an unlimited confidence! According to the same missionary, the day of their admission into the talapoin order is a public feast, which is honoured with the presence of the noblemen of the court, and even the king himself. They send provisions, dresses, and presents of every kind. Their convents are, like those of the carthusians or camaldules, divided into cells scattered through a vast inclosure. “ They do nothing,” says the missionary, “ but eat, drink, and sleep;” however, he allows that they preside over schools, where silence is strictly observed; and that in their temples they have a regular service, which seems rather long. They are very proud, and supported by the monarch, who makes use of them to keep the people in respectful order. They have confession, and a ceremony similar to the asperision of holy water. The talapoins pretend to the powers of magic, and the populace believe them; but undoubtedly they do not believe it themselves. These pretended idlers preside over the public schools, and are appointed to instruct youth. The university of Lao, of which they are the doctors and masters, attracts

great numbers of students from Pegu and Siam. These ministers are accused of the spirit of profelytism, and of endeavouring to entice their youthful pupils to enter into their order. Solicitations on that head are scarcely necessary, for they enjoy a brilliant reputation, and considerable privileges. As long as they remain in the order all commerce with the sex is forbidden them, but they have the liberty of quitting it. Their sermons, which are methodical, constantly turn on five precepts; which are not to kill any thing that has life, to respect their neighbour's wife, not to lie, not to steal, not to drink wine. They either give or sell dispensations. Their manner of preaching is modest, their style simple, and without gesticulation.

The king visits the temples at a stated time, and always with presents, and with great magnificence. The luxury displayed at his court is imitated by the governors of provinces, and all those in place, in proportion to their dignity. These are known by boxes more or less valuable, which are carried by their servants after them. All property, even landed property, belongs to the king. He only leaves the furniture to those whom he wishes to favour on the death of their relations: he distributes the lands to others. The most precious wealth is that which may be easily concealed; as gold, silver, and jewels.

These riches are the object of an active commerce. There is no order of nobility: difference of rank solely depends on the will of the sovereign. They have very few laws: custom regulates every thing. In other respects the king's decision is arbitrary. In every family there is a principal branch, whose chief preserves, by right of succession, an authority over all his descendants. How far the degree of subjection extends is not known, but it is very great; for twice in the course of a year each individual of the race is obliged to make presents to its chief, to serve him as guards and domestics, to labour for him at his own expense, and to obey him in all his commands. This custom is said to be of considerable utility to the king, who has only to gain over the chiefs, to levy powerful armies. These, however, have not prevented this kingdom, which during more than a thousand years was subject to its natural kings, from passing alternately during the two last centuries into the hands of the Avans, Peguans, and Chinese. It is now supposed to be governed by its own princes; but as the missionaries, despairing of reaping any fruit there, have withdrawn themselves, we are entirely ignorant of any posterior revolutions, if such there have been.

SIAM.

The kingdom of Siam is surrounded by a semicircular chain of high mountains which separates it from Laos, and inhabited by the Siamese savages. The sea coasts are interspersed with valleys and very indifferent harbours. Within sight of the coast lie a number of islands, some of which are subject to Siam, others independent. A large river flows through the whole kingdom, and produces there the same fertility which the Nile bestows on Egypt. It engenders enormous crocodiles. The slime with which all the country is overflowed rolls on to the sea, and forms a bar which leaves but twelve feet water at the highest tides, and prevents the approach of large ships. Fortunately the road is excellent. The forests produce fine timber for building. There are found the tree whence the varnish is taken; the iron tree, extremely heavy, of which anchors are made; dying, and odoriferous woods; mines of every kind, as of iron, crystal, antimony, emery, lead, and tin. Pinchbeck, which is a mixture of gold and copper, was invented at Siam. There also are found the loadstone, agates, sapphires, and diamonds. The Siamese work their metals very badly: they only know how to smelt them. They have neither needles, nails, scissors, nor locks. Buildings and vessels, every thing in that

country, is joined and attached by pegs and fastenings of wood. The great heats, which otherwise would be insupportable, are corrected by the rains. They have scarcely any of our kitchen garden plants, such as melons, artichokes, cabbages, turnips, onions, nor of those which compose our salads. Grapes are not good there any more than corn. In general the scorching heat, by causing the spirits to evaporate, diminish the flavour of the vegetables, and destroy the odour of the flowers.

The capital, which we name Judia, is very extensive, but the population by no means in proportion; the king's palace of itself would compose a considerable town. He usually resides at Louvo, at the distance of about fourteen leagues; the Versailles of Siam; but in an admirable situation. The most important city of the kingdom is Bangkok, built at the lower part of the river, not far from the mouth, and well fortified for that country. By following the coast, the islands of Andaman present themselves, inhabited by cannibals. They boldly venture, notwithstanding the superiority of numbers and fire-arms, to swim to the vessels which approach their shores, and board them with their wooden fabres. They likewise frequently make inroads on their neighbours. The island of Jonsalam offers a convenient harbour for the commerce of Pegu and Bengal. The natives of the Nicobar isles are

very eager to obtain iron, which may be very advantageously exchanged with them. The women have their heads: they perhaps are the only women in the world, except the Jewesses, who deprive themselves of the ornament of hair. It must be remarked, that they do not substitute wigs.

Then follows the peninsula of Malacca, in which is found the kingdom of Johor, whose capital is Malacca. The Portuguese took possession of it, erected the fort of Formosa, and have been expelled by the Dutch. The port of Malacca is one of the finest of all India. It was one of the handsomest cities in Asia, after Goa and Ormus; the emporium of the trade of China and Japan; and the key to the commerce carried on through the straits of Sunda. The Malays, the descendants of the Javanese, have black hair, a flat nose, and large eyes. They wear no clothing. The women ornament their long hair with jewels, are proud, and demand respect. At Malacca is found a race of men who can only see at night. There are some it is also reported in Africa. It would be curious to discover whether this proceeds from nature or habit. The Malay language passes for the purest and most agreeable of all the east. It is likewise, on account of its extent, the most useful. Those who traffic on that coast cannot dispense with the knowledge of it.

The people of Johor are brave, but luxurious;

liars, but most insufferably proud. Their complexion inclines to a light blue. The frequent use of betel dyes their teeth black. They paint their nails yellow, and distinguish their rank by their length. In that country grows the fago, which is the pith of a shrub that is sometimes served on our tables. The prince who reigned in 1695 was addicted to a most infamous vice. His mother, with an intention of reclaiming him, sent him a beautiful girl, while he was in bed. The brute pushed her from him, and caused her arms to be broken by blacks, because she offered to embrace him. The father of this unfortunate creature rid the earth of this young monster; and the crown was conferred on his cousin, who was equitable, moderate, and pious. He was much beloved by his subjects; but unhappily he suffered himself to be influenced by his brother, a man in all respects of an opposite character. He excited the hatred of the populace, who revolted, and pursued him into the woods, whither he had fled for safety. Despairing of any mercy from these infuriates, he slew his wives and children, but hesitated at putting himself to death. A page, who was only twelve years old, amazed at his cowardice, said to him: "What! do you prefer dying by the hand of a slave, to dying like a prince? Although I am innocent, and may hope to have my life spared, I will teach you how to die." He

instantly plunged a poniard into his bosom, and the prince followed his example. These circumstances were related by the surviving page. The monarch proposed to resume himself the authority, promising his subjects to govern in a better manner. They made him this reply: "You are too religious to be a good king. You may retire. We will consider how we shall dispose of the crown." They loaded a vessel with riches, put him on board with all his family, and dismissed him: an example worthy imitation. The inhabitants of some neighbouring islands received him as their sovereign. The kingdom of Johor produces pepper, nutmegs, diamonds, aromatic and colorific woods, and bezopars more valued than any other. The emperors of Siam take the title of monarchs of all these countries, though they do not possess even the shadow of authority over them.

The Siamese are mild, modest, civil, and especially very submissive, less perhaps from nature than constraint. One of the kings of Siam used to say of his subjects: "They are of the disposition of monkeys, who tremble as long as one holds the end of their chain, but who acknowledge no master as soon as it is loosened." This comparison is applicable to many others. More than half the kingdom of Siam is peopled by strangers—Peguans, and others—who have become naturalized by their incur-

sions. Men become slaves for debts, for crimes, and if they choose to submit themselves to servitude; but it is only domestic service, and extremely mild. There is no nobility, nor any other distinction, except while in the possession of some post; as soon as that is terminated they return to the class of the people. The children of the great have no privilege granted them in this respect. The Siamese have much veneration for old age. Mendicity is considered as disgraceful by them, and theft as still more so: they support their poor relations for fear they should ask alms. They are naturally extremely cold, seldom moved to admiration, and are born indifferent and without curiosity. The women are modest, constant, and retired. Those who are surprized in a fault may be sold by their husbands to a man who, by paying a tax, has a right to prostitute them.

Their stature, physiognomy, and dress, in the interior of the country, resembles in a greater or less degree those we have already described as their neighbours. As the climate is extremely hot, they are little covered, but more decently at Siam than elsewhere. Faces shaped like a lozenge, pointed at the top and bottom, with the cheeks widened, inclining to the Tartar and the Chinese, are more common than any other. Their houses are raised upon piles, because of the inundations, and are of a very easy construction;

the walls and floors are closed with bamboo hurdles; the furniture very simple, as is their food: all kinds of provisions are extremely cheap. To the shame of sobriety be it spoken, say travellers, the Siamese neither live longer than other people, nor are less exempt from disorders. The most common are eruptive complaints, cancers, abscesses, fistulas, and particularly saint Anthony's fire. They no doubt have physicians, for where do they not abound? Their methods of cure consist in certain receipts, and in causing the body to be trodden on. The Siamese lead a very idle life; eating, playing, smoking, sleeping, and parading the streets to see the dancers and jugglers, are their only occupations. The women entirely manage the household. Their most ordinary conveyance, on account of the inundations, is the baloon, a boat made out of one single tree. Some of these are from sixteen to twenty fathoms in length, which carry from a hundred to a hundred and twenty rowers. They go with the swiftness of an arrow. It is in these that the rich display all their luxury.

Marriage is an affair of three visits; at the first they ask, the second see, the third enjoy; the presence of the relative is all that is necessary, the talapoins are not concerned with it; all they do is, to go a few days after to give their blessing and their prayers. The ceremony is similar to that every-where else, accompanied

with feasts, amusements, and great expense. The Siamese in general take but one wife, and there are degrees of affinity prohibited; however the king of Siam espoused his sister. A connexion between free persons is permitted. Children are educated in great respect towards their parents. If they were not trained to it from their infancy it would be extremely difficult to acquire the different attitudes to be employed before superiors, the attitudes, gestures, and prostrations, which they must use towards each other, under pain of being thought unpolite, and even of rendering themselves guilty of rudeness.

They have two languages. The Siamese is the vulgar tongue, and the Baly the sacred: but the latter is little known except by the priests. The Siamese nearly resembles the Chinese; this language is accented; they appear to be rather singing than speaking. They are quick and sure arithmeticians, bad philosophers, no metaphysicians, and study the planetary system as astrologers only, to be able to divine and predict; they have, however, astronomical tables, and calculate eclipses. They attempt every thing:—they smelt metals, work in wood, build, gild, carve, paint, but excel only in embroidery. They are honest in their traffic: gold is a merchandize; silver is coined, but is of small value. Commodities are paid for in cowries—little shells

brought from the Maldives. Seven or eight hundred of them go for a farthing, but a farthing will almost procure them food.

They burn the dead. The talapoins assist at funerals. Far from thinking that the natural propensity of the soul is to inhabit a body, they consider transmigration as a punishment. Besides, it is very difficult to give a Siamese an idea of a spirit, an immaterial substance, which we say we so easily conceive. They are not better informed in this respect than were the Romans with their lares and their manes. They believe them to be material substances, but of a nature so subtle that they escape both from the touch and sight. They imagine that after quitting the body they have a recollection of it during their first transmigrations; which is the reason why the Siamese pray to the souls of their ancestors until the third and fourth generations, presuming that afterwards, in the latter states of transmigration they experience, they are not permitted any longer to remember their descendants. To all the transmigrations, if their conduct has been right, succeeds the Nireupan, the true paradise; not the annihilation of Shaka, but universal repose; what might be called *the blessed state of inactivity of the Italians*. In that state the Siamese taste a pleasure equal to the gods.

The morality of the Siamese is comprehended, like that of the Lanjans, in five precepts, incul-

cated by the talapoins : we shall not particularize those of Siam. They have some duties which are peculiar to them, and which have no reference essentially to their institution. To instruct in the schools, and preach continence, is a rigid observance : there are talapoins constrained to the same austerities. In general they are old before they are admitted. The missionaries imagined they had discovered among the talapoins the hierarchy of the catholic church. The sancrats, the superiors of the great monasteries, are the bishops, and the superiors of the small ones, the curates. In fact, the sancrats alone have the power of making talapoins, as the bishops only have the power of ordaining priests. There exists a great degree of subordination among them. The temples are crowned with pyramids, and filled with monstrous statues. The founder, or reformer, of their religion, is named Sommona Codom, which signifies lord, whose epocha they fix five hundred years prior to the christian era. He was a very holy personage, who distributed all his possessions to the poor, that he might devote himself entirely to study, fasting, and prayer, to the mortification of his sensual appetites, and to the exercise of a perfect life ; but as the practice of these duties is possible only to the talapoins, he embraced their profession. He was a formidable champion ; he overcame in single combat a man who doubted

his perfections. He had the art of making himself appear so enormous, that the eye could only measure him with difficulty ; so diminutive, that he escaped from mortal fight ; and so agile, that he transported himself in a moment wherever he pleased. This latter qualification was of infinite service to him in extending his religion. Sommona Codom, intreated by his favourite disciple to extinguish the flames of hell, would not consent, " because mankind would become " too wicked, if they lost the dread of that " torment." This saint killed a man in his wrath, which is the reason why he only lived eighty years. Before he expired, he ordered that they should erect statues, and build temples to him. He actually is enjoying the blessed state of Nireupan. The Siamese are looking forward to another who is foretold. They expect him with the same anxious impatience as the Jews expect the Messiah, and, like them, have been sometimes deceived by impostors.

Their laws are severe, and their punishments cruel, and as nearly as possible applicable to the crimes. The mouth is sewed up for having talked too much, and slit for not having revealed what it ought. The head is gashed with a sabre for not having executed a given order : this they call a pricking or rousing of the memory. The shame of the punishment does not endure beyond the moment. Once passed it is forgotten, and

they resume their posts and dignities. The most customary chastisement is that of flagellation, performed with split bamboos, which leave very deep weals. The women are also liable to it. When it is by the king's command, the offenders shew their remaining scars with great complacency; "because the king has done them the honour of thinking of them." It is not easy to believe that this extravagant adulation obtains throughout a whole nation.

Yet every thing is credible of the people who tremble under the yoke of a despot, and no king is more despotic than the king of Siam. He intimidates the great by arbitrary and barbarous chastisements, and crushes the small beneath the weight of the taxes. No one therefore is attached to him, except perchance those who serve him in the interior of his palace. These consist of women and eunuchs. He causes the eyes of his brothers to be put out, and keeps the rest of his relations in the most abject dependence. His subjects are obliged to work six months in the year for him. They are afraid of appearing rich, and bury whatever they have of value in the earth, for fear of a search. The horror the Siamese have for an effusion of blood renders them unfit for war. When they are in the enemy's presence, they fire too high lest they should kill: however, if the foe approach, they fire lower; it is his

fault for having put himself within gun-shot. A native of Provence, named Cyprien, who was in the service of the king of Siam against the king of Singor, finding that he was forbidden to fire straight, imagined that it was through treason to the king of Siam. Tired at seeing the armies drawn up without coming to action, he went at night into the enemy's camp, took the king of Singor captive in his very tent, and led him away to the Siamese monarch.

We are not to suppose that they were considerable armies that were thus braved. The first king of whom we have any sort of authentic account levied one composed of four hundred thousand men, and four thousand elephants, against two neighbouring kings, whose respectable forces apparently merited this effort. The Siamese completed his number in twelve days; for he issued a proclamation, importing, that every man under sixty years of age who should not enrol himself should be burned alive. This, however, say they, was an excellent prince. He commanded his expedition in person, which proved a fortunate one; but during his absence the queen forgot herself with an officer. When her husband returned, lest he should discover her pregnancy, she poisoned him, and married her gallant. Her premature delivery revealed the crime. This barbarous mother completed her atrocity by also poisoning a child of eight

years old, whom she had had by her husband, that the son of her adultery might inherit the crown.

The king of Camboja, in concert with the principal persons of Siam, caused the queen and her new spouse to be put to death. In her place they raised one of the late king's relations to the throne, whom they took from the order of the talapoints, which he had embraced.

2546.

These events could not pass without subjecting the government to much confusion. The king of Barma, the usurper of Pegu, gaining information that the talapoin monarch was neither beloved nor esteemed, invaded Siam with eight hundred thousand men, of whom a thousand Portuguese was the chief force; a thousand pieces of cannon, and five thousand elephants. He attacked the capital. The talapoin defended himself with valour and skill, and sustained four furious assaults. There is every appearance that he must have been overpowered in the fifth, if a rebellion at Pegu had not recalled the king of Barma. Chaumigrem, his successor, returned against Siam with an army of fifteen hundred thousand men, made the kingdom tributary, and carried away the queen to Pegu, with her two sons, named the white prince and the black prince.

2590.

After a revolution, which sent back the Barma into his territory of Pegu, in despite of se-

venty thousand men he had led on against Siam, the black prince ascended the throne, and was succeeded at his death by the white prince. History divides between them many cruelties, and many unjust, as well as many generous and laudable actions; but accuses the white prince only with the barbarity of condemning his only son, a young man of great promise, to be put to death on a simple suspicion. This inhuman deed occasioned disturbances which continued for a length of time, because the succession was inverted. Among the legitimate heirs there were some usurpers. By this rivalry, the kingdom remained in a state of perpetual war until the reign of Chaw Pasa Thong.

From the place of chancellor, he opened a passage to the throne by his wealth and influence. Chaw Pasa
Thong,
1627. He entered with an armed force into the palace, and obliged the king to flee for refuge into the temple, whence he led him back prisoner to the palace, and caused him to be declared fallen from the throne, and unworthy of reigning, for having forsaken the palace; as if it had been a voluntary act. History is silent on the fate of this unhappy sovereign. The usurper compelled his daughter to give him her hand, although she was already married. She did it with repugnance, but brought him, however, a son and a daughter, and died before the fatal catastrophe of her family.

The deposed monarch had left besides, four sons and a daughter, to whom the Siamese shewed a degree of attachment disagreeable to the usurper. He determined to sacrifice them, as well as the nobles whom he suspected. Chaw Pasa Thong lost a daughter, by a former wife, whom he tenderly loved. He had the funeral of the princess conducted in the most sumptuous style. It is to be observed, that among the ceremonies all the ladies were obliged to weep two days and two nights: if fatigue or sleep stopped their tears, there were some old dames among them armed with whips, who revived their source. The king himself, gathering up the ashes, as was the custom, found rather a large piece of flesh unconsumed. He said to the nobility present: "What think you? Is it from respect that the flames have spared these remains of my daughter's body?" One of them replied: "Your majesty is too much enlightened to doubt of what you see." "Ah! beyond a doubt," rejoined the monarch vehemently, "I have but too many reasons to be certain of what I have suspected a thousand times, that my daughter has been poisoned." Upon this proof, which cannot fail to convince, he imprisoned the princess his sister-in-law, all the princes of the blood, and the nobles, the most distinguished for their attachment to the royal family. Of four brothers, only one made his escape, whose

fate is unknown. Two were immediately massacred, and the fourth, who was twenty years of age, reserved for torture with his sister. Under the pretext that the latter had betrayed an inclination to gaiety at the funeral, the tyrant thought proper to fix his suspicions on her. There existed not a torment which he did not employ to force a confession from her, as likewise from her women, who as well as she were all put to the torture. She did not absolutely deny the fact; but it is thought that what she avowed was not so much to do homage to the truth, as to wound her assassin, by augmenting his regret for his daughter's death. She expired in agonies. As for the young prince, as the monster perceived that his handsome figure and air of confidence inspired pity, he dreaded its effects, and had him quickly dispatched. Upwards of three thousand persons of the first families perished on this occasion, not without demonstrating, as well as the princess, that the accusation was only a pretext of the king's, effectually to remove all those whom he feared. He reigned thirty years, and was succeeded by his son Chaw Naraya.

This prince, by his fine qualities, effaced the stain of his origin. The son of a usurper, the executioner of his princes, and an atrocious slanderer, Chaw Naraya proved himself clement, moderate, and equitable. By his virtues,

the missionaries judged him worthy of being a christian. The events which gave rise to this opinion are the most interesting part of his history. Almost on his first accession to the throne, he had some dispute with the talapoins. They formed a plan of assassinating him one day that he was to visit the temple; but the conspiracy was fortunately discovered. The conspirators, by the king's order, were massacred by his guard, and he treated both the talapoins and the people who had suffered themselves to be seduced with great severity. One of the sancrats complained of this rigour. By way of answer, Chaw Naraya sent a monkey of the largest kind to his house, with a command to feed him well, and let him do as he pleased till further orders. The mischievous animal was no sooner arrived at the sancrat's, than he overthrew every thing, broke the porcelain, spoiled the carpets, bit some, and beat others. The sancrat waited on the king, and intreated him to deliver him from so dangerous a guest. "What!" said the prince, "you cannot bear for a day or two the extravagant liberty of a single animal, and you expect me, during my whole life, to endure the impertinences of a people a thousand times worse than the monkeys of the forests? Go," continued the monarch, "and learn, that if I know how to punish the wicked with severity, I likewise know much better how I can recom-

“pense the good.” It was true; for there was not any favour which a man of probity might not expect from him: never did he dismiss those unrewarded who had exerted themselves for the public good.

During the whole course of his reign, which was of great length, he was never known to engage in more than one war, and that was as auxiliary to the king of Camboja, who had just been driven from the throne by one of his relatives. The usurper was supported by the king of Cochin China. The council of Siam represented to Chaw Naraya, that he could not send a sufficient number of troops to hope for success; on the contrary, it was to be feared that the expedition might expose him to much danger. He resolutely replied: “These reasons are futile. “The glory which the king of Siam will acquire “by protecting an unfortunate prince, his ally, “from whom he has no expectations, will “indemnify him for all his losses.” On this occasion, his magnanimity triumphed over his prudence, which was this prince’s predominant virtue.

Some historians nevertheless have asserted, that he lost sight of it in what passed concerning the christian religion, which he was inclined, they say, to establish in his kingdom, to the prejudice of the prevailing one. He certainly did give a kind reception to the missionaries of

1682.

Lewis XIV. He permitted them to build churches, publicly to practise their religion, and to make proselytes if they could; but as to himself, when the ambassador pressed him, in the king's name, to embrace the christian religion, he replied: " I am extremely concerned that
" the king of France, my very good friend,
" should urge me to so very difficult an act. I
" depend on his own wisdom to decide on the
" importance and difficulty accruing from a
" point so exceedingly delicate, as that of chang-
" ing a religion received and followed in my do-
" minions for more than two thousand two hun-
" dred and twenty-nine years; besides, I am asto-
" nished that the king of France should so strong-
" ly interest himself in an affair which regards
" only God, who seems to take no interest in it.
" For that true God, who has created the hea-
" vens and the earth, and all the creatures that
" inhabit them, and who has endued them with
" such different inclinations and natures, might
" he not, had he thought proper, have given
" to all men the same souls and bodies, inspired
" them with the same religious sentiments for
" the worship he most delights in, and have
" given to all nations the same faith? That or-
" der among mankind, and that unity of reli-
" gion, absolutely depends on his divine provi-
" dence, and might have been as easily intro-
" duced into the world as the diversity of sects

“ which has been established from the earliest
“ times. Ought we not rather to believe, that
“ the true God takes pleasure in being honour-
“ ed in a variety of worships and ceremonies ;
“ and in being glorified by an immense number
“ of creatures, each praising him according to
“ his manner? However that may be,” continued the king, “ since we all know that God
“ is the absolute master of the world, and are
“ convinced that nothing can happen against
“ his will, I resign both my person and my do-
“ minions into the hands of a merciful and di-
“ vine Providence ; and I sincerely supplicate
“ his eternal wisdom, to dispose of them accord-
“ ing to his good pleasure.” This mode of ar-
guing, which would not have been more agree-
able to a talapoin or a musti than to a catholic
missionary, proves that Chaw Naraya had not an
exclusive preference for christianity. The pre-
deliction he shewed for it was rather the effect of
policy than of conviction.

He had a Greek at his court named Faul-
kon, called by the French, Constance, a name
no more Greek than the former. Enriched by
commerce, ruined by the dangers of the sea,
fortune, reconciled at length with Faulkon,
brought him to the foot of the throne. The king
discovered talents for governing in him un-
known to his Siamese, and gave him his whole
confidence. Faulkon was satisfied with that,

and would accept no place. His moderation ought to have removed him beyond the reach of envy ; but when was envy absent from a court ?

The French missionaries, seeing the Greek in favour, attached themselves to him, although he was of a different communion. The monarch, in the privileges he granted them, thought only of the good of his kingdom ; of extending its commerce, of disciplining its troops, of fortifying its cities, by the means which a solid alliance with France furnished him. With that intention he gave the missionaries flattering audiences ; but they perceived several times, that after some conversation on religious subjects, he returned as soon as he could to his favourite topics, the method of enriching his dominions, and of rendering his reign glorious.

1688.

Faulkon also for a long while had no other object in view ; but in the course of time, the cabals which were formed at court made him think of his own interest. The king had only two children ; a daughter, heir to the throne, and a natural son, named Prapye, whom he tenderly loved. He had granted him all the exterior marks of royalty. It is imagined that he intended to marry him to the princess ; but the monarch had two brothers, both of them still young enough to aspire to the princess's hand. The missionaries had gained over Prapye. He openly professed the christian religion, a thing which

was highly displeasing both to the great and to the populace. Their indignation on account of the prince's apostasy fell upon Faulkon, who was very intimate with the missionaries. Threatened by a furious tempest, which the king's declining health might render extremely dangerous, he persuaded the monarch to receive the French into Merghi and Bankok, his two principal fortresses, and the keys of the kingdom, and converted them into a sort of academy, in which the Siamese might be trained to the military art, and instructed in the European sciences. This counsel, approved and adopted, appeared to give some confidence to his favourite; but, on the contrary, its execution accelerated his ruin.

Among the chief persons of the kingdom, in dignity at court, was Pitracha, with the title of great mandarin, an artful and resolute man, allied to the first families, enjoying an extraordinary reputation for his abilities and religious zeal. He concealed with wily address his real views, under the pretext of public good. He insinuated to the people, that the French were only come into the country to destroy the royal family, to annihilate their religion and their laws, and to render them subservient to Prapye and Faulkon. He likewise had the art to persuade the princes, the king's brothers, that he only acted for their interest; but their credulity was most fatally punished.

The king at this period fell dangerously ill, which hastened the catastrophe. Pitracha was his foster-brother, of the race, it is said, over whom the father of Chaw Naraya had usurped the throne. Never had he betrayed the smallest ambition, nor desire of aspiring to any other happiness than that of a private life; the king, however, had obliged him to accept, though apparently against his inclination, the command of the elephants and horses, an important post, which he filled with honour. The monarch regarded him as his friend; and he had free access to the palace at all hours. After having planned all his measures, surrounded himself with a party of soldiers, raised with the utmost secrecy, Pitracha, taking advantage of the facility this familiarity with the king gave him, made himself master of the palace, and sent, as from the sick king, for Prapye, his son. Even in the monarch's chamber he entered into a dispute with him on his change of religion, fell upon him, notwithstanding the cries and endeavours of the dying prince to prevent it, and killed him.

This tragedy had been preceded by the death of Faulkon, who was taken as in a snare, without having the courage to defend himself, though the French who accompanied him offered him the aid of their swords. He depended, it is true, on the king's friendship, be-

fore whom they promised he should be carried to justify himself; but Pitracha took care not to venture such an interview. He ordered the favourite to be loaded with irons, and delivered him into the hands of the executioners, who inflicted every kind of torture on him to extort a discovery of his treasures. He expired in the most excruciating agonies. Next, by dint of artifice, protestations of fidelity, and devotedness to their service, the great mandarin contrived to draw the king's two brothers to Louvo. As it was of the utmost importance for his cause, that their death should have the appearance of justice, he caused them to be condemned by the mandarins assembled, as guilty of attempts against his own life. They were enclosed in a sack, and beaten to death with clubs of sandal wood, in compliance with a law of Siam, which forbids the shedding of the blood of its princes.

This was the last act of the tragedy. It is not known whether Chaw Naraya was informed of this horrid catastrophe. It seems he died of his illness, and that Pitracha only accelerated these massacres that he might have his foot on the highest step of the throne, when his predecessor should be entering his tomb. There is no certainty with respect to the fate of the princess; some authors say, that she was ceremoniously assassinated like her uncles; others, that Pitracha married her. The missionaries in their writings

Pitracha,
1690.

are very loud in their commendation of Chaw Naraya; they ascribe to him penetration, a desire of instruction, a great deal of prudence, wisdom, and foresight. It must be confessed that they were little benefited by this latter virtue, for he left both them, and the rest of the French, in a most dreadful embarrassment.

Negotiations were opened between Pitracha, who ardently wished to expulse the French, and to recover Merghi and Bankok, the two principal fortresses of his kingdom, which they still held, and the chiefs among the French, who would willingly have surrendered them, provided it were without sustaining any damage, and on honourable conditions. After some attacks sustained with great courage by the French, though with a very unequal force, the parties, at length, came to terms of accommodation. The Siamese furnished the French with three frigates and the necessary provisions, and they quitted the kingdom. Thus terminated the long and expensive expedition of the French to Siam, undertaken with the hope of establishing themselves there, and of converting the king and the inhabitants. Pitracha neither lived nor reigned long, though he had the affection of his subjects; he had attached the talapoints to him by his respect to religion, and merited the veneration of the people, who thought they discovered in him a heart truly Siamese,

filled with esteem for his own nation, and contempt for every other. These sentiments, which the Siamese wished to see their kings possess, accounts for the fury they manifested against the missionaries and their converts, as soon as the rage of fanaticism, so long repressed, had power to break forth. Death is nothing in comparison of the tortures they inflicted on the christians. However it appears that religion was not the only motive for this persecution, since the officers and soldiers who were made prisoners were exposed to it as well as the missionaries and their proselytes. It continued, with more or less rancour, during the whole reign of Pittracha; but, notwithstanding, christianity was not entirely destroyed.

Pittracha was succeeded by his son. He married his father's widow against her will. He did not live long, and left the crown to his son, who also wished to espouse that princess; but she refused him, and retired into a convent of talapoins, that she might not be compelled to submit to his desires. This monarch's eldest son gave him some cause of displeasure, which induced him to nominate the second for his successor. The favoured prince refused, when his father was dead, to be benefited by the privilege assigned him. He returned his elder brother the right of primogeniture, on condition of succeeding him if he should die first; and in con-

1700.

sequence of this agreement the eldest took the crown, and the second was declared *grand prince*, that is to say, presumptive heir to the throne. The monarch had several children. Paternal tenderness made him forget the engagement entered into with his brother. He appointed his eldest son, who had become a talapoin, for his heir; but the devotee was too conscientious to be an accomplice in his father's perjury. On his declining it, the king named his second son, who accepted it.

The two grand princes levied troops. The uncle defeated the nephew, and had him put to death, with two of his brothers. He offered his crown to the talapoin, perhaps to try him; the monk persevered in his vocation, which inspired his uncle with a great affection for him. The monarch's son became jealous of him, and made an attempt on his cousin's life even in the palace; the latter, terrified, ran and threw himself into his uncle's arms. Irritated at so black a crime, the king commanded his son to be stretched on the ground, and undergo the chastisement of the bamboo, customary to the country. The talapoin, either from pure humanity, or from policy, that he might disarm the resentment of a man who might one day be his master, cast himself on his cousin's body, exclaiming: "My lord, your son shall not be struck, till I am first torn to pieces." The

father, much affected, pardoned his son at his cousin's intercession, who took the culprit back with him to his monastery. He did not long remain there. Being recalled by his father, he was shortly after accused of dishonouring his bed, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

The monarch, at the age of eighty, found himself with two sons. The eldest, who lived in the most vitiated state of debauchery, covered besides with a disgusting leprosy, was excluded from the throne. The second, named Chawal Padou, which signifies lord of the temple, had the voice of the people. Educated in the pagodas, he had imbibed a bigotted zeal for the superstitions of his country : he also had acquired a taste for the milder virtues, affability and indulgence, which made him beloved by his people ; but he carried them too far in regard to his brother, who was ambitious, restless, one might say morose. He took a real pleasure in contradicting and afflicting his brother ; in every place where he could, he always took the first place. Chawal Padou, fatigued by the malicious attacks of his brother, ceded him the throne, and retired into a convent. Under the leper, as depraved in mind as body, the affairs fell into the greatest disorder. In addition to other calamities, the Barmas, conquerors of the Peguans, and united with them, attacked the

Chawal
Padou,
1748.

kingdom, and committed dreadful ravages. The princes and the nobles went in a body to the pagoda of ChawalPadou, and conjured him to resume the reins of an unstable empire. The king himself, convinced of his incapacity, joined his supplications to those of his subjects. Chawal yielded to these reiterated entreaties, and sacrificed his predilection for retirement.

But other qualities, beside those of clemency and mildness, were necessary to oppose conquerors eager of plunder; even prudence, the usual associate of those pacific virtues, was absent from the council of Siam. Puffed up with a ridiculous vanity, the Siamese at first despised their enemy; and when they could no longer deceive themselves respecting their success, from an insolent confidence, they suddenly fell into discouragement and consternation. The troops they raised were numerous, but without order or discipline, and fell before the intrepid Barmas as a flock of sheep before wolves. The soldiers enquired of their chiefs, as dastardly and inexperienced as themselves, how they were to fight; but they considered only how they could escape. Not that these enemies were so formidable; for a handful of strangers, almost all French, the missionaries and their proselytes, who had survived the last persecution, sallied out against the Barmas, and forced them to respect them; but their courage failed to inspire an effeminate

people. The capital was taken; the king and his court sought refuge in the mountains; and the whole kingdom was pillaged, laid waste, and reduced to the last state of misery. The conquerors only retired when there was nothing left to take, and carried away a multitude of captives. The barbarians eager of riches, to return to Pegu, principally directed their fury against those whom the populace, who had joined them, pointed out as opulent. There does not exist a torture which they did not inflict to force from them a discovery of their treasures; and if any among them were so pitiless as to look with an eye of indifference on the misfortune of those who were the first victims, they all had reason to deplore their supineness, when in their turn they were made to feel the similar cruelty and calamities.

CAMBOJA.

The country of Camboja, contiguous to Siam, is a valley traversed by a large river. In that respect it resembles Egypt. It is broader though not so long, more agreeably situated, bounded on either side by fertile mountains, instead of the barren ones which abound in the country of the pyramids. The greatest extent of its coast is in the gulph of Siam. The soil is excellent. Sugar and indigo of a very good quality are produced there. There also are found the various

Camboja,
between
Siam, Chi-
ampa, Co-
chin China,
and the In-
dian sea.

commodities peculiar to these rich countries, ivory, precious stones, odoriferous wood, medicinal drugs, crystal, varnish, gums, and every sort of provision in the greatest plenty. The air, although very warm, is salubrious, because it is refreshed by the breezes from the forests, which cover the mountains; but the inhabitants are tormented by swarms of moschettos. Serpents are likewise to be feared; and winged lizards, with hooked feet covered with scales, and seven or eight feet in length. There are also land crocodiles, flying squirrels, very large rats, and dangerous monkeys. A tree that grows here furnishes, by incision, an oil which serves the same purpose as pitch for ships; the bark of trees dipped into it give as much light as a flambeau. The juice of another is a mortal poison if infused into a wound; but, on the contrary, the body may be rubbed with it without any risk, provided the skin be in no part raised. It has the same quality as the virus of the hydrophobia. All these productions, and some others, are not exclusively confined to the continent, they are also to be found in the islands in the vicinity of Camboja. The greater part of these, although they have very good harbours, are either destitute of inhabitants, or else thinly peopled with a very poor race, because of the depredations of the pirates who frequently visit them. They do not consist of an uniform tribe, but a species of

Malays, Macassars, and other islanders, escaped from shipwreck, and refugees in the rocks, which they make their country. The pirates, especially those of China, even infest the river of Camboja, and retreat into the islands it forms.

The royal palace, surrounded with bamboos, is rich, and ornamented in the interior. In that country are found a great many Chinese, Japanese, Cochin Chinese, Malays, and degenerated Portuguese, who are in the king's pay. The Dutch have a factory: but the English disdain to form any establishment here. They procure with less trouble at Siam and elsewhere, what they would find at Camboja at much more expence. The Cambojans are extremely skilful in every mode of working silk, particularly embroidery. Their religion is the same as in all these countries, that of Fo more or less disguised. A future existence, voluptuous pleasures, punishments, the metempsychosis, a numerous clergy, with an hierarchy, are its principal features. The chief is equal to the king: he is denominated *the king of priests*. It has sometimes happened that the temporal monarch has also united the sacerdotal title; an addition by no means useless to his power, which is despotic. All the property of his subjects, at their death, devolves to him: the wives and children only inherit what they can conceal. The Dutch ambassador going to an audience of ceremony, was met on

the bank of the river by a toothless old elephant for his conveyance, and four carts, on which they piled the presents sent him, and his baggage. This reception may be paralleled with the treatment of the Chevalier de Forbin at Siam. He had just been appointed to the highest dignities of the empire. "My house," said he, "had some trifling furniture. They added to it two plates, two large silver cups extremely thin, four dozen cotton napkins, and two yellow wax lights daily. This," continued he, "was the whole equipage of the lord high admiral, and general of all the king's armies." And is this, we may reasonably ask, the exterior luxury of those courts which have been so extolled to us? The Spaniards have had some concerns with the affairs of this kingdom. Invited from the Phillipines by a mahometan king, who promised to embrace christianity, they arrived too late to succour him. They found an usurper on the throne named Pranear, which signifies *wry-mouth the traitor*. They expelled this ugly monarch, went in search of the mahometan's son, to the very extremity of Cochin China, and re-established him. Acquiring some power at this court they became objects of jealousy, and were massacred. The kingdom of Camboja has always been a prey to civil wars. It was conquered by the Siamese in 1717, and since has become tributary to China.

CHIAMPA.

The little territory of Chiampa comprehends a small part of the coast interspersed with shallows, between which are some tolerably good ports and bays. The Cochin Chinese are the masters of the country, the natives of which are called Loys. They are tall, brown, handsomer, and better shaped than the Cochin Chinese, though they have a flat nose. It appears that the colour of distinction among them is black. Their customs are a mixture of those of other nations. They sell the public employments. The king's wives lend money at very great interest, which is their only revenue. Every religion is tolerated. The principal sects are mahometism, and that of Confucius: they also have catholic missionaries. These were of considerable utility to a French ship which by chance touched on the shores of this country, and was near being plundered. Two officers having landed, with confidence, found in the king, and his court, the treacherous politeness of daring robbers, but they were cowardly and fearful. For a sum of money they escaped their snares. This petty monarch is vassal to the king of Cochin China, and does him homage; but we are not told whether he pays him tribute. The second mandarin of his council must be a Cochin Chinese. The Loys support their servitude

Chiampa,
between
Cochin
China and
the river of
Camboja.

with an uncommon degree of resignation. The king, by the aid of the Cochin Chinese, treats the nobles as slaves; and according to custom, the latter retaliate upon the people.

COCHIN CHINA.

Cochin
China, be-
tween Laos
Tonquin,
the Chinese
and Indian
oceans,
Chiampa,
and Cam-
boja.

Cochin China is inundated in the same manner as the preceding countries, and is as fertile. A tree different from every other, grows here; from its trunk proceeds a bag of chesnuts, one of which is a sufficient load for a man. It also produces the incorruptible tree, very like the iron-tree we have already mentioned. There are no walled cities. The extent of the capital is prodigious, and contains a multitude of inhabitants: the villages seem to join. They frequently have fairs, in which every kind of commodity is to be found. The chief of them are held during the inundation, when the whole face of the country is under water: it then resembles a sea covered with vessels of every size.

The Cochin Chinese are mild, equitable, hospitable, according to some authors; others accuse them of pride, treachery, dishonesty, ingratitude. It is of little consequence, except to those who intend to visit them, to know which of these two portraits are most like. In general they have the virtues and vices of the Chinese; their customs, their arts, and sciences, but the latter not in equal perfection. They raise their

houses on stakes of wood like the Siamese, and other nations, whose country is subject to inundations. The nobles follow the doctrines of Confucius, and the populace those of Fo. The temples of the latter begin to totter, and the priests no longer enjoy the same consideration they formerly did. If we believe the missionaries, the clergy is divided into the different ranks of an hierarchy corresponding to ours.

The government is arbitrary, the punishments very rigorous, and the military discipline very severe. The Cochin Chinese have only galleys, not ships. The soldiers are placed at each oar. They navigate standing in profound silence, their eyes turned towards the prow, and fixed on their captain. He conveys his orders to them by waving his wand. Every thing is in such perfect concord, that a music-master is not better understood by his musicians when he beats time. The rowers have each a musket, a dagger, and a bow and quiver laying at their feet. The motion of the wand informs them in what manner they are to use them, insomuch that every manœuvre is performed without speaking, and in most admirable concert. Formerly Cochin China and Tonquin formed but one monarchy. A king who possessed them both, about four centuries since, divided them at his death between his brother and sister. The princess married an ambitious man, who meditated the death of his

brother-in-law; but the latter gaining timely notice of his design, found a means of escaping the threatened danger, and levied troops. The people of the two countries, ranged themselves each on the side of their prince. From this private quarrel, has arisen a national animosity, which is manifested every year by the two nations making incursions into each other's territories.

TONQUIN.

Tonquin between China, the gulph of Tonquin, Cochin China, and Laos.

A traveller who should traverse Tonquin in his way to China, would find himself accustomed to the manners and customs of the Chinese by the time he entered their empire. There is no essential difference between them, but merely some shades of character, which are every where observable between the various provinces of the same state. We will give a slight sketch of these previous to our commencing the grand picture.

Betel.

The sea is very deep on the coasts of Tonquin, as well as on that of Cochin China; the anchor may be thrown almost close to land. The cities are not walled in, and have the appearance of villages, the capital not excepting: the country is periodically overflowed. The king's palace is neat, ornamented, and surrounded with a wall capable of some defence. As all the buildings are of wood, fires are frequent. Every indi-

dual, by a law of the police, rigorously observed, is obliged to have a reservoir of water at the top of his house. The productions of Tonquin are the same as those of the neighbouring countries. We will observe, however, that betel is in great abundance, and is thought the best in all India. The leaf of this plant has an aromatic flavour. They add the arec-nut to it, powder the whole with a little lime, and present it to each other to chew, as a sign of friendship or honour. This custom is as common in Asia, as it is to offer a snuff-box in Europe. The boxes which enclose it are objects of luxury, and as profitable a branch of jewellery as those for snuff. These boxes are carried by servants behind their master, as a mark of honour; and their larger and smaller size and value, distinguish the ranks and dignities. The betel preserves the blackness of the teeth, which the Tonquinese affect, tinges the lips with a fine vermillion, gives freshness to the mouth, a sweet odour to the breath, and fortifies the stomach. These properties, except that of blackening the teeth, which is not to our taste, are well worth those of tobacco, whose smoke and powder perhaps are as necessary in the humid fogs of the western, as betel in the immoderate heats of the eastern climates. The customs of a nation, however singular they may appear, are seldom without some utility in their principle.

Travellers also exclaim against the Tonquinese seasonings, whose basis is of fish, fermented even to putridity. This sort of seasoning is equally in use in Siam, Pegu, and all those countries where the inundations leave behind masses of small fish, which the inhabitants turn to that account. Their palate is accustomed to it from early youth. Probably, our poignant seasonings, such as mustard, would seem as strange and disagreeable to them. There are whole nations of savages who cannot bear salt. Did not the majesty of history forbid the application of proverbs, we might on this occasion say; "every man in his humour;" as well in that respect as in regard to dress, which however inconsistent it may appear to us, owes its singularity either to the climate, the scarcity of materials, the civil or religious customs, or some other motive which would obviate the ridicule we attach to it, were it in our power to trace it to its origin.

The Tonquinese wear clothing; the women even dress themselves more decently than the heat of the climate seems to require: they are not, however, so wrapped up as the Chinese. They suffer their face and hands to be exposed. The religion of Fo is that of the populace. Their priests, called bonfes, are, as in China, held in great veneration; but not by the nobles and those who value themselves on their understanding and erudition: these follow the doctrines

of Confucius. The Tonquinese, though they speak the same language as the Chinese, have a pronunciation peculiar to themselves. The same peculiarity obtains in the culture of the sciences, and the practice of the arts which are likewise less perfect. They have forcerers, and are extravagantly fond of theatrical representations. There is not any good public feast without dancers, nor private without singing and dancing; but during meals, silence is strictly observed. It would be considered unpolite to utter a single word. Their funerals are extremely sumptuous, in proportion to their means. This luxury is founded on the very profound respect they have for their ancestors. Every year they go and refresh their memories on their tombs, with a species of adoration. With respect to marriages, the consent of the relations is necessary. Divorce is permitted, and adultery punished with death. The christian religion was once in a flourishing state at Tonquin; but is at present prohibited there, as well as in China.

There are two kings at Tonquin, as there are likewise at Japan. After having passed under the yoke of several different usurpers, the Tonquinese are once more become subject to their natural princes; but these indolent sovereigns, resting the weight of the government on the generals of their troops, rendered their authority almost as unlimited as their own. One of these

generals, finding himself master of the army, took possession likewise of the revenues, and by degrees of the whole power, seized the king's person, and confined him in his palace, without endangering his life. Things have remained, and are continued in that state. The Bovas, or legitimate kings, have only the title and shadow of authority; and the general, under the appellation of Chova, is in possession of the kingdom; however, they dare not attempt the bova's life, because of the respect the people always preserve for their lawful sovereigns; but the bova is without guards, without a court, and shut up within the circle of his family, while the chova is surrounded with all the splendour of royalty. On the death of the bova, he nominates his successor; but is not obliged to choose him from among the children of the deceased: it is sufficient if he be one of the family. He assigns to the bova the exterior prerogatives of sovereignty; the right of blessing the lands, of tilling them, and of appointing the sacred ceremonies: he even is forced to have his decrees ratified by the bova, to give them an executive sanction; but the latter would not be at liberty to refuse his consent. The chova sometimes pays ceremonious visits to this shadow of royalty. He approaches him very respectfully, wishes him a long and prosperous life; and tells him that it is to oblige him, and to deliver him from the weight of a burden beneath

the royal dignity, that he has taken on himself the government of the kingdom. The nobles and officers of state also visit him; but at stated periods, and with permission. The chova himself is not exempt from submission. The emperor of China sends him every year a great mandarin, under the title of ambassador; but this singular ambassador first alights at the house prepared for his reception. The chova pays him a visit; and the ambassador never returns it. The Tonquinese also send an envoy, to China with their tribute; and their ambassadors are received with great pomp. The Chinese emperor has the policy of treating his vassals on these occasions with the utmost magnificence, to convey to his people a high idea of his power. The chova of Tonquin only exercises his with the emperor of China's permission, who confirms it.

The chova has always a vast number of troops on foot. A judgment may be formed of their strength, and the estimation he holds them in himself, from what one of those princes, at war with one of his neighbours, wrote in 1647, to the general of the Dutch companies. "I have under my command," said he, "a body of three hundred thousand infantry, ten thousand cavalry, two thousand elephants, thirty thousand muskets, and a thousand pieces of cannon. I request the illustrious company to send me three hundred men and three ships, to en-

“able me to oppose my formidable enemy.” Either that enemy or another thinking themselves inferior to the Tonquinese, adopted the plan of dressing all the soldiers of the front ranks like Portuguese. At this fight the Tonquinese turned their backs, and fled with all speed.

At Tonquin terminates the history of Hindoostan, and the two divisions of the peninsula. On leaving India, we shall once more meet with the Tartars who led us into it.

EASTERN TARTARY.

Eastern
Tartary, be-
tween the
Moguls
and Kalkas,
Siberia, the
sea of Tar-
tary, Korea,
and the
yellow sea.

The eastern Tartars were the precursors in China of the western, by whom they were afterwards expelled. They have since returned thither under the appellation of Manchew Tartars. They glory in deriving their origin from the eastern side of Tartary, where are the sepulchres of their ancestors. This country is much colder than its geographical position seems to indicate. It is encircled with high mountains overspread with thick forests, and the earth appears impregnated with nitre, which occasions very hard frosts. The rivers not unfrequently freeze in such a manner as to prevent navigation during several months. The hardy sons of these inhospitable climes are inured to fatigue. They are indefatigable hunters, and soldiers intrepid and robust. The women are fresh and rather corpulent. Their continual intercourse with

the Chinese have civilized the rude manners of these Tartars. They are acquainted with agriculture, and carry on a considerable commerce in furs. On the declivity of the most barren mountains grows the gin-seng tree, whose invigorating root is sold for seven times its weight in silver. Some of these people clothe themselves in the skins of fish. They have the art of rendering them supple, capable of being sewed together, and taking a dye. The mahometan religion, that of Fo; and a thousand other superstitions are spread throughout the country. Almost every district has one peculiar to it. Their habits, manners, and laws, are as various. Those nearest to China follow its customs. There are few worthy of particular remark, except their funerals, which are performed at two separate times. Ere they consign the dead to their last receptacle, they place it in one that is less deep, leaving a part uncovered for the head, and go every day to put aliment, and pour liquor into the mouth, although the body lie in a state of putrefaction. These attentions continue a month. At least people are certain in that country of being saved from the horror of a dreadful death if unfortunately they should have been buried alive.

The empire of Kitay, or Katay, whose name is ^{Kitans, or} known, and its position nearly, but with whose ^{Leaos.} history we are scarcely at all acquainted, is inha-

bited by the Kitans or L^yas; who rendered themselves so formidable to China more than two hundred years before the Christian era, as to occasion the building of the *great wall* to secure themselves from their ravages. Their population, whose origin is unknown, has fortified their dominions during a series of eleven hundred years in these deserts. The Koreans have greatly contributed to it. Towards the year 916 they were introduced into China by a rebel, whom they placed on the throne. Having once tasted the delights of China, they several times made incursions into it. A youthful emperor of the Song dynasty, contrary to the advice of his ministers, called in other Tartars to oppose the Kitans. They in effect forced them to retreat within their limits; but they soon quieted them, and again returned. The victories and defeats alternately continued till 1214, when the Kitan empire fell a victim to its intestine divisions.

The Tartar, to whom the imprudent young monarch had opened his kingdom, became the founder of one, and was the chief of the Kin dynasty, who made the Song monarchs tributary. The Kins in their turn were destroyed by the Moguls under Jenghis Khan, and his successors, at the beginning of the thirteenth century: but since that period, the Kitans, under the name of Manchew Tartars, have retaken China from the Moguls. One of the Kin emperors set an ex-

ample of the attention that is due to a vanquished people, if the conqueror wishes to attach them to him. He paid a visit to the hall of Confucius, and rendered him, after the Chinese manner, the same honours that are paid to kings. His Tartar courtiers were shocked that the prince should descend to these marks of deference for a man whose birth was not illustrious. He replied to their observations: "If he is not entitled to these honours by his birth, he merits them by the excellent doctrines he has inculcated." In this vast territory, inhabited by the eastern Tartars, are placed also the Sifans, or Tufans, who likewise carried their arms into China, and afterwards returned into their country, where they have either been lost or forgotten.

CHINA.

When the Portuguese discovered China, two hundred years ago, they were so astonished at its beauty and opulence, as well as at the industry and politeness of the inhabitants, that they almost doubted the evidence of their own senses. On their side, the Chinese were extremely surprized to see a people who equalled them in skill and every kind of knowledge, and even surpassed them in some. The Europeans still retain their admiration. Travellers, and their transcribers, always speak with enthusiasm of the great number of the cities, the immense popu-

China, between Independent and Chinese Tartary, Korea, and the seas of Japan and India.

lation, the prodigious wealth of China, her manufactures, agriculture, mines, canals, public roads, the encouragement given to the arts and sciences, the excellence of her laws, the regulations of her government, and the fertile genius of the Chinese for cultivating every branch of science. They, on the contrary, except some ideas of astronomy and geography, which they have condescended to learn of us, condemn all the knowledge which we can impart to them. They adhere to that they already possess, shut their ports against us, and every entrance into their country; and even despise the Europeans for the earnestness they shew to visit them, as though they were necessitous beings, unable to do without their wealth. If, however, we would but impartially draw a parallel, we should find, that allowing for the difference of climate, and the first materials, European industry is not inferior to Asiatic; that inventive genius is ours, as well as their's; that we even advance nearer to perfection than they; and that with respect to the wisdom of the laws, the regulations of government, the sciences, both physical and moral, we certainly equal, if we do not surpass them. As to vices, they are nearly the same every where. No nation can reproach another on that head, and the Chinese have not a greater right than the rest.

Climate.

Although the climate of China is in general

temperate, yet the high mountains covered with snow towards the north send forth a piercing cold, which continues three or four months. The southern parts, on the contrary, experience a greater or less degree of heat, according to their vicinity to the tropic. The lands are almost every-where fit for tillage. The Chinese have extended them by the incroachments which agriculture always makes, by draining marshy grounds, confining overflowing waters, covering with earth barren rocks, and forming mountains into terraces. Necessity also doubles the habitable soil, by making great rivers the dwellings of entire colonies, who are born in their boats, in which they live, and carry on their commerce as if in their native element, and are as little acquainted with the land as the inhabitants of the mountains frequently are with the water.

The ancient religion of the Chinese appears to have been the patriarchal, that is to say, the worship of one only God, the creator of the heavens and the earth. This continued for a considerable period. When the Chinese swerved from its purity, they did not, like the Assyrians, Egyptians, and Greeks, deify the planets, their kings, and their horses. There is no monument of this species found among them; but they had one which Confucius, who lived about the time of Solon, innocently introduced.

This philosopher had often been heard to repeat—"that it was in the west the holy one " was to be found." One of their emperor's recollecting this expression, sent ambassadors to discover, if possible, who this holy man could be, and what was the true law he taught. Fatigued and weary with the length of the journey, the ambassadors went no farther than India, and thought they had found what they sought among the worshippers of Fo. They carried that idol to China, and with it the doctrine of the metempsychosis, polytheism, and the various superstitions with which the Indian volumes are filled. This new belief was eagerly received at court, rapidly spread throughout the empire, and is become the most prevalent religion. Its propagation took place about the middle of the first century of the christian era.

It was strengthened by another god denominated Lao-Kyun, a sect formed among the disciples of Fo. The bonzes who profess it devote their time to chemistry and physic; pretend they have a certain remedy for every disorder; and do not despair of bestowing immortality. By these arts they impose both on the people and the nobility, particularly the latter, among whom are many more weak minds than might be imagined. The women likewise contribute to maintain their credit, which is supported by their precepts, greatly resembling those of Epicurus.

They consist in banishing every passion capable of disturbing the tranquillity of the soul, in avoiding all cares and violent desires as the enemies of life, in enjoying the present moment, and disregarding the future. This doctrine took its rise from the dying words of Fo to his disciples. "There is no other original principle," said he, "than space and void. All things have arisen from nothing, and to nothing shall all return."

Confucius forbore to dive into the impenetrable arcana of nature; neither did he bewilder himself in obtruse researches on the essence and attributes of a first cause, the origin of the world, of good and evil, and other subjects far beyond the sphere of human reason. He did not dogmatize on the nature of the rewards attached to virtue, nor the punishments annexed to vice, but confined himself to speaking with the most profound reverence of the First Principle of all beings, whom he represented as the most pure and perfect Essence, the Author of all things. He inspired veneration, fear, gratitude, and love towards him, by making his providence known, and teaching that nothing is concealed from him; that he even is acquainted with our most secret thoughts; and that he will never permit virtue to go unrecompenced, nor vice unpunished. He has left several works, in which the beauty of virtue, and deformity of

the other, are traced with a masterly hand. By his doctrines and example he reformed the religion of the empire, into which idolatry was already introduced. Confucius appears to have thought less of the exterior, than of the essence of religion, and of reforming the hearts and morals of his countrymen. His studies, his instructions, his writings, his precepts, and conduct, all tended to that end. His grateful disciples have raised statues, altars, and temples, to his memory, and render him a worship of respectful homage, which would be absolutely repugnant to the principles of this great man if it were idolatrous. The Chinese are indebted to him for the profound reverence children have for their ancestors, whose memory is recalled every year by many pious ceremonies.

The religion of the literati obtains among all those who value themselves on their superior sense and learning. They speak of the deity in the same manner as the disciples of Confucius. They acknowledge one most pure and perfect principle, the source of all things; but at the same time they consider it as nature only, that is to say, a sort of natural virtue which produces, arranges, and preserves every part of the universe. It is, say they, a sort of insensible soul of the world, diffused throughout all matter, in which it produces all its changes; therefore, speaking of God as he was known in the primitive religion, they at-

tribute to nature all those perfections the ancients acknowledged in him alone. This doctrine has made considerable progress, because it destroys religion altogether, and because its practice is attended with no trouble.

The christian religion has been much followed in China. There was a time when the missionaries had brought it near the throne, and flattered themselves with fixing it there; but this brilliant prospect has been clouded over. All the different sects united against christianity. That of Fo, because it destroyed idolatry, the foundation of their power and credit of the bonzes; that of Confucius, because it proscribed respectful rites as idolatrous ones; that of the learned, because it was contrary to their atheism. The missionaries have been persecuted, banished, and at present make only clandestine excursions, which, in general, end in martyrdom.

Mahometism is very little respected in China; it, nevertheless, is tolerated, but it is in a manner restricted to certain districts, beyond which it would be exposed to inconveniences. There are likewise some Jews: they reside in the province of Ho-nan as a national body, have a synagogue, profess their faith, and practise circumcision. They also conform to the Chinese customs relative to the ceremonies observed in memory of Confucius, and the veneration of their ancestors. At what period, or in what manner, they

got footing there is totally unknown, but their migration thither most probably must have preceded Jesus Christ, since they told the missionaries they were quite ignorant of him.

Govern-
ment.

The emperor has most superb titles; *Son of heaven, Lord of the world, Sole governor of the whole earth, Great father of the people.* His power is absolute; though he is obliged to govern according to the laws. He consults, but he alone decides. The throne is not so absolutely hereditary as to prevent his choosing among his children, or even amongst other princes of the royal family. He neither promulgates laws, nor abrogates them at his pleasure; the change must be sanctioned by the supreme council, composed of the princes of the blood, and the ministers. He rarely shews himself, and then only on solemn occasions: no one approaches him without prostrating himself. If he be attacked with a malady rather serious, it is considered as a public calamity. There are two sovereign councils: the first consisting of the princes of the blood, which is only convoked on very extraordinary occasions; the second, of the ministers, which is like a private council, always active.

There are six superior tribunals: the first has the inspection over all the mandarins and magistrates of the empire; the members, properly speaking, are state inquisitors: the second re-

gulates the finances: the third, the ecclesiastical ceremonies, such as all religious and civil rites, and the reception of ambassadors; the arts and sciences also come within its notice: the fourth has the superintendance of the arms, armies, fleets, discipline, magazines, and arsenals: the fifth takes cognizance of all criminal causes: the sixth, of the public works, palaces, temples, tombs, bridges, roads, canals, dikes, fortifications, triumphal arches, and whatever is necessary or ornamental. In each province, at a certain distance, in the cities, and even in the villages, there are tribunals corresponding to these by established gradations; and besides these, inspectors are sent into every province to examine the conduct of the magistrates, and report it.

The regulations of the police are admirable. Police. Each quarter has a chief who is answerable to the governor for whatever passes in it. Fathers of families are equally responsible for the conduct of their children, servants, and guests; and in cases of murder, theft, or tumult, a house answers for its neighbour. The method of administering justice is prompt and simple. Employments are not sold, but assigned to the candidates, after a proper examination of their morals and capacity. Their posts are never continued to them above three years in the same place; never in the province of which they are natives, lest, if they are

of low extraction, they should be despised, or should become too powerful if rich and of great families. To endeavour to render lawsuit as unfrequent as possible, there is always a corporal punishment inflicted on the loser; in general the bastinado; but it often happens that resentment for the chastisement perpetuates hatred, and renews the lawsuits; besides, in despite of the precautions taken by the legislature, bribery is very common in the courts of justice, because as the mandarins remain in office only three years, they are anxious to enrich themselves. The common women are obliged to reside out of the cities. Some governors insist that they shall live together, under the inspection of a man responsible for all disturbances, should any happen.

The punishments are not only severe, but cruel. That of death cannot be executed unless signed by the emperor; but fines, confiscations of property, imprisonment, and torture, are within the jurisdiction of the mandarins, who for a sum of money frequently abuse their authority. A person convicted of high treason is cut to pieces. The greatest crime next to that is rebellion against a father. If it be carried so far as to occasion his murder, the whole empire is in alarm, and the emperor himself becomes the criminal's judge. All the mandarins of the city, and even of the adjacent places, are deposed. The relations are chastised for having omitted to

reprimand the offender, for not having informed the magistrate of his perverse inclinations, and having by their negligence suffered him by degrees to arrive at that abominable excess of wickedness. The culprit is torn to pieces and buried; his house is demolished to the very foundation; those of his neighbours are thrown down, and monuments are every-where raised to inspire horror of this atrocious deed. The punishment of retaliation is frequently practised. Decapitation is considered the most ignominious of all punishments, because the head being the most noble part of the body, it is considered as very shameful to be deprived of it.

Theft is not punished with death, unless the circumstances are aggravated. The most usual punishments are the bastinado, of which the executioner relaxes the severity if bribed; and the cangue, a species of collar composed of pieces of wood, which is worn on the shoulders, and is sufficiently large to prevent the offender from seeing his feet, or bringing his hand to his mouth. This also is mitigated by means of money: it is even possible by paying to substitute another with the judge's connivance. They likewise burn on the cheek with a hot iron. They banish, either for a term, or perpetuity. The torture is also in use; but only in cases of crimes of state, where it is necessary to discover the accomplices. Adultery is not a capital crime; there are indul-

gent relations found, who out of pity for the weakness of their daughters, by means of valuable presents, stipulate with those who marry them, that they shall be allowed the liberty of now and then entertaining a lover, without being liable to chastisement on that account. In that case the husband has neither the right to inflict coporeal pain on his wife, nor to repudiate her. The prisons are spacious and well aired.

The nation is divided into three classes, the mandarins, the literati, and the people. There is not any hereditary nobility except the princes of the blood; descended, not from the ancient emperors of the Chinese race, but the Tartar emperors, and that of the posterity of Confucius, which has been preserved for more than two thousand years. The greatest respect is shewn them. The chief of the family always bears a title of dignity. The emperor's court is magnificent. There exists nothing so brilliant and rich as his retinue when he attends the ceremonies: even in open day he is surrounded by four hundred large lanterns, and as many flambeaus; for lights in China constitute part of the solemnities. The revenues and forces of the empire are immense, and the expenses proportioned to the receipts. There are no such things as loans known there, nor advances demanded of the people for enterprizes and the luxury of the court. One only of the emperor's

wives has the title of empress, and the sole right of eating with him. There are about nine of the second rank, thirty of the third, who all have the quality of spouse; and as many concubines as he chooses, called *queens*, all beneath the empress, even she who should be mother of the son nominated by the monarch for his successor. When he has made his choice, all the rest submit, and live as private persons, on the pensions allotted them, which are exactly paid, in the cities assigned them, but without exercising any authority; and if a complaint escaped them on their state of subjection, it would be punished as high treason. The number of these princes is sometimes very considerable.

The Chinese have applied themselves to astro-Sciences. nomy from the earliest times. We shall readily admit that they had made very great progress in this science, if we reflect that they lived sequestered, without any communication with other nations, whose acquirements might have assisted them. They possessed many fine instruments, but much inferior to ours. They have had the good sense to adopt those we have carried to them, and to reform and perfect their observations by ours; notwithstanding which they have been unable to divest themselves of their credulity for judicial astrology. They are still persuaded that every constellation and planet has its peculiar influence on all sublunary things, and that it

is possible to predict, by calculating their revolutions, and attending to their different aspects, a vast number of events. Thus their almanac-makers announce wars, famine, sickness, good or bad seasons, with as much assurance, and as much success as ours. There is however in China an astrological tribunal: they suffer the people to amuse themselves with these chimeras.

The Chinese are little acquainted with geometry. They have a kind of mechanical arithmetic, which renders their calculations as quick and certain as ours. The art of navigation is not in a very advanced state among them. The form of their ships, heavy and badly masted, would retard their progress, supposing that their love of their country, their repugnance to be distant from it, and their small need of foreign commodities, did not prevent their undertaking long voyages. But they pay great attention to the structure and elegance of the barges which float on their rivers and lakes, either for commerce or pleasure. They have multiplied their canals to such a degree, that almost all their exports are conveyed by water: an invaluable advantage, which can only have been acquired by a long series of centuries. This also indicates a knowledge of hydrostatics and levelling. The Chinese had no idea of optical effects, mechanical curiosities, metaphysical discoveries, or natural his-

tory. They are totally ignorant of the rules of logic and rhetoric, notwithstanding which they argue justly, express themselves clearly, methodically, and with animation according to the nature of the subject. There is no judging either of their versification or poetry in itself. They are satisfied with them, as well as their musical instruments, which are by us thought very imperfect, but are sufficient for their purpose, since they delight in them. Harmony appears to them to be discord. We should condemn their theatrical pieces as very cold and uninteresting, because they only treat of morality, and are entirely destitute of love intrigues, therefore entirely incapable of affecting or inflaming the passions.

Their remedies are cruel. For almost every disorder they apply fire, by means of rusty needles, cupping, and cause very serious burns. The physicians value themselves on their great knowledge of the pulse. Surgery must always remain in a state of infancy among them; for they have the greatest horror of anatomy, which they consider as inhuman. There is very little variation in their methods of cure; however they recover. In no part of the globe should history be more authentic than in China; because in every city, from time immemorial, there have been persons appointed to register whatever happens. Once in forty years these annals are corrected by an

assembly of mandarins, who probably only erase what militates against their prejudices. We may therefore conclude that history is not more authentic in China than elsewhere.

The Chinese tongue has occupied, and still occupies, our men of science. All that results from their researches is, that it is extremely copious, very expressive, of inconceivable difficulty to learn, and still more so to speak; because the pronunciation has a quantity of inflexions which vary the signification of the same word to infinity. We will only take as an example the monosyllable *po*, which according to the elevation or sinking of the voice, its being pronounced in treble or in base, whistled, as one may say, or swelled, or undulated, or abridged, or prolonged in the sound, signifies either *glass*, *to boil*, *to winnow rice*, *prudent*, *liberal*, *to prepare*, *old women*, *to break*, *to split*, *to incline*, *very little*, *to water*, *a slave*, *a captive*, &c. Thus it happens, that though speaking the same language, the inhabitants of one province scarcely understand their neighbours of another. Their writing is as varied, by the punctuation, accents, and the inclination or perpendicularity of the signs, which however in their primitive state consist only of five. They paint things in the manner of hieroglyphics, not by speech. Printing is very ancient among them, not like ours, with moveable types, but like engraving. It is done on blocks of wood.

Agriculture cannot fail to be held in honour in a country, where the emperor once every year himself traces some furrows, as a proof of the esteem he has for that art. After his example, the viceroys, governors, and other chiefs invested with dignities, do the same in the districts in which they preside every year. On the report the emperor receives, a labourer, in a limited district, is honoured with the habit of a mandarin, and obtains his power and distinctions. Thus industry acquires a degree of activity which obliged the land to yield all that it is capable of producing. Even the most ungrateful soil, by continual toilsome essays, at length is forced into fertility. The pasture-lands are not less the care of government. The flocks are numerous. There are likewise some wild beasts. Very few lions are seen; but the tigers roam in herds. The musk animal is common. Its odour is an antidote against the serpent tribe, and lulls them to sleep. Quadrupeds and poultry furnish their tables; neither is game wanting. Almost all our fruits and vegetables are found in China; and there are others peculiar to the soil. Tallow, and white wax, are gathered from different trees. The first is the unctious fleshy part of a species of nut, the fruit of the tree; the second is left on the leaves of the other tree, in the form of rays by small worms. These two substances, mixed together, make very good candles. The

bamboo, a sort of reed of very solid texture, though hollow, is employed for an infinity of uses. Incorruptible wood, cedar, ebony, sandal, pine, oak, and the iron-tree, abound in the forests. The tree which yields the varnish, a valuable commodity, which we in vain envy China. This precious gum flows abundantly from it, either naturally or by incision, and communicates to their works in wood that shining surface, which all our imitations are far from equalling. Tea is become so necessary to Europe that it has rendered her in a manner tributary to China, the native soil of this valuable shrub. We import from thence cotton, silk, rhubarb, and porcelain, which we however successfully imitate both in form and design.

Character
and morals.

It is very possible, that the Chinese nation may have lost something of its primitive character, which was mildness and submission to the laws, from the frequent changes that have happened in the empire. They at present are accused of dissimulation in their conduct, which is less under the guidance of morality than fear; an obedience rather forced than voluntary; dishonesty in their dealings; and a vindictive spirit. They are extremely addicted to gaming, and immoderately fond of feasts and plays. Their natural seriousness is not maintained during a long repast. They affect to prohibit all strong liquors; but in that respect they

are hypocrites, as in many others. They make each other presents on new-year's day. The two principal festivals are those of the lanterns and of Confucius. The former has somewhat of a religious tendency, for they carry about the idols, with great noise, bustle, and tumultuous behaviour, approaching to delirium. It is celebrated throughout the empire : every house is illuminated with lanterns. There is a degree of emulation between them, who shall have the handsomest; and they do not fear the expense, which is sometimes very considerable. The festival of Confucius has none of this brilliancy ; but is accompanied with a respectful gravity, such as is proper to recal the memory of a sage. Prayers, prostrations, offerings of viands, fruits, and wine, were formerly made before the statue of the philosopher. But one of their emperors, apprehensive lest this ceremonial should degenerate into idolatry, removed the statue, and substituted in its place a simple tablet, on which is inscribed the philosopher's names and virtues. This homage is renewed twice every year.

Marriages, funerals, and other domestic occurrences, give rise to private feasts. The wedded pair see each other for the first time when the bride is carried to her husband's house. From the moment she enters it, she is not permitted to see any other man except her father, and sometimes her brothers. The men regale

themselves with the bridegroom, and the women by themselves. If we judge by the presents, which are much more valuable on the part of the husband, it appears that the man purchases the woman. They are allowed to keep several concubines: but these are entirely dependent on the legitimate wife. Among persons of distinction, a second marriage is not considered honourable for a woman, even though she should only have been married an hour. The Chinese women are well made; their life is very melancholy, as they are constantly confined, without any other company than that of their children, and a husband, who keeps them under lock and key. They are very skilful with their needle and pencil. The only prospect of the concubines, is being sold on the master's death.

The mourning for a father is rigid: it continues three years. The son, not even in the most pressing case of necessity, would consent to sleep on a bed during the space of a hundred days. He lies on the ground. During the first year he has no commerce with any person, not even with his wives. Should any one of them prove pregnant, they would both be rigorously punished. A wife's mourning for her husband is also three years. A husband's for his wife one year; and so on in proportion for all the other relations. Testimonies of filial respect are not restricted to the period of mourning only, they are

renewed every year at the tomb of the deceased, with many mournful ceremonies. They present there viands and wine, as if the deceased were yet alive. The sepulchres are at a distance from the city, situated in some agreeable spot. Those of the rich are magnificent. Besides a motive of gratitude, this funeral homage is founded on their belief that the souls of their ancestors are always present, either to recompense or punish them. The emperors give the example of this species of worship, which is renewed daily in their houses, in which there is a consecrated apartment called *the hall of the ancestors*. Once each year, every branch of the family is assembled there. The number sometimes amounts to seven or eight thousand persons. At that time there is no distinction of ranks; to the most aged, although poor, is assigned the place of honour. The rich on these occasions give a feast.

The bonzes and priests attend the funerals, make an eulogium on the deceased, and chaunt a dirge. One of them carries a tablet in front of the procession, on which are inscribed the dignities and virtues of the defunct. The body, dressed in very fine attire, lies in a coffin covered with white damask, which is the mourning colour. The relatives, both male and female, according to their rank, follow, clothed in a sack of white linen fastened with a cord, their feet wrapped up in straw, and rags upon their

head. During the repast, which succeeds the interment, the relations make the air resound with their cries and lamentations; but their sobs, their expressions of grief, their contortions, and convulsions of affliction, are all so well regulated, all so perfectly in concord, that an European would be inclined to doubt the reality of their sorrow.

The laws of the empire have provided for the education of youth, by excellent books of morality, which every person is obliged to have. It is of the utmost importance to fathers to give their children a good education; for if any one is guilty of a crime, and escapes the hands of justice, the father undergoes the chastisement for having neglected properly to instruct his son. The Chinese are grave and ceremonious. Their demonstrations of politeness consist in bowing the head, joining the hands, crossing them on the breast, lowering them, raising them, bending the knee, and prostrating themselves according to the rank of the person they address, and the favour they request. These ceremonies are so complicated, that to be able to perform them perfectly it is necessary to be trained to them from early infancy. Neither do they speak in direct terms: even between equals, they never give themselves any other title, but "Your
" humble, your poor slave; May it please my
" lord to receive this from the hands of his ser-

“vant; May he be permitted to offer him what comes from his little, his mean country.” This indirect style indeed is common to all the oriental languages; but the Chinese refine in humiliating expressions of themselves, and flattering ones to those whom they address.

A handsome Chinese, whose exterior may promote him to the rank of mandarin, is rather above the middle stature, has a large forehead, small eyes, a middling mouth, a short nose, long ears, a light beard, stout arms and legs, a strong voice, and prominent stomach. They admire corpulency. It is, say they, a sign of a good conscience which does credit to the aliments. A handsome Chinese woman is not tall, very upright, by no means anxious for a fine shape, or any hips. She seeks rather to be all of a size from head to toe. Her face is not without its charms. She has a short nose, small and well-shaped black eyes. In vain has nature given her a vivid complexion and fine colour; custom commands her to efface the healthful bloom as a mark of immodesty, and rub herself with a whitish powder, which renders her pale, and communicates an air of languor, which is regarded as a sign of chastity. She suffers not her feet to acquire their just proportion: they are compressed from the earliest infancy with bandages, which prevent their growth. The smaller they are,

the more will she be esteemed and honoured. But though confined to her house by her inability of walking, a Chinese woman does not on that account dress with less taste and elegance, though at all times with the greatest modesty. She would suffer her face to be seen, rather than her hands, which are covered by long wide sleeves. Gold, silver, and jewels, sparkle in her hair. Bodkins, ornamented with diamonds, gracefully confine her tresses surmounted with a species of coronet of plumes and flowers.

The Chinese also wear flowing garments. A small hat or cap shades their head, the form of which marks and distinguishes their rank. From the middle of the head, which is shaved, hangs, from behind, a tuft of hair, plaited like a long tail. They usually put on two robes; and it is polite to add a third to receive visitors. The civil mandarins wear both before and behind an embroidered bird; and those of the military, a tiger, lion, and particularly a dragon, the emblem of the empire, because Fo, in one of his transmigrations, assumed the form of a serpent. The most delicate and esteemed dishes consist of stags' nerves, bears' paws, and certain nests of marine birds, which are brought from the coasts of Tonquin. It is thought that they are a paste made of fish, which these birds fabricate with their bills. The Chinese cookery is in general

good : they are fond of high fauces, and strong liquors. Their bread is a sort of muffin, and their ordinary beverage an infusion of tea. They make wine from rice, which continues good for a considerable length of time.

Among the wonders of China must be reckoned, the great roads, which are perfectly straight. The Chinese level mountains, convert the swamps into solid earth, cleave the rocks, cover their rivers with bridges, and suspend galleries over precipices. The distances are measured and marked, and the cross-roads indicated. They are well kept and safe ; but the inns are extremely bad, and it is necessary to be provided with every thing. Every possible convenience in point of conveyance is found for travelling. A Chinese who had any curiosity would find ample means to gratify it, without quitting his country : there are volcanoes, cataracts, and cascades of an astonishing breadth and height ; both hot and cold mineral springs ; rivers whose waters are endued with different properties—some of them give a green dye, others blue, others are petrifying, change iron into copper, and have their periodical increase and decrease, of which the cause is yet unknown. Every kind of metal and mineral is found there in abundance ; as also porphyry, marble, the asbestos or incombustible stone, diamonds, and pearls. Among their natural curiosities we may place the gold and sil-

ver fish, which we have received from them, and like them preserve in glass vases.

The great wall, which was built above two thousand years since, to secure them from the irruptions of the Tartars, is five hundred feet in length. It is in no part less than twenty feet in height, nor more than thirty, and fifteen in breadth. Its towers, its gates, its bridges, are almost every-where gigantic labours. It has always been guarded, and is still, by a whole army; but all these precautions have not prevented invasions. To attempt a description of their other works of art would require too much time: we shall say nothing of their temples, palaces, triumphal arches, pyramids erected in honour of great men, the admirable scenery, pleasing perspectives, tombs, towers covered with marble or porcelain, perceived in the distance, and the monuments of every form, which ornament and embellish their magnificent roads. The towers have bells hung on the outside, on which the hour is struck: their size is extraordinary, and their weight enormous. A missionary reports that there are seven at Pekin, the capital of the empire, which weigh each of them six hundred and twenty thousand pounds. Consequently the Chinese have long been in possession of the art of foundery, whose process is so complicated and so difficult. There is no doubt of their having known the secret of gunpowder many

centuries before us; they have employed it for a length of time in fire-works, which are most admirably executed, and in which they greatly surpass every other nation.

It is natural to ask, whence is the origin of the Chinese nation? how can it have been so long separated from every other? who is its founder? Other questions have also been put, the solution of which has employed the learned. The system which, as some moderns pretend, answers every doubt, although it is still embarrassed with insuperable difficulties, is that which makes Noah the father of the Chinese, under the name of Fohi; not by his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, but by a colony drawn from his most virtuous descendants, who observing corruption spreading itself among their brethren, attached themselves solely to their common father, and withdrew with him from this vicious race, prior to the building the tower of Babel, and the confusion of tongues. The votaries of this opinion have taken the trouble to make Noah and his colony travel from the Ararat of Armenia, or India, as far as China. The mountains have been urged as an objection; they reply, that the deluge had equally deposited its slime, and they were then only gentle risings: the forests? they had been rooted up: the deserts? the sand as the heaviest particles had sunk beneath the vegetable soil, and it has

only been in process of time that the rains have washed off the earth, and brought the sand again to the surface: the rivers? Noah had still the recollection of the ark; he constructed ships: and it is worthy remark, that they always had, and still retain, the relative dimensions and the form of the ark; three times the breadth for the length, stern, prow, flat bottoms, and three tiers in the hull.

In support of this hypothesis comes the science of astronomy, which the Chinese could not so early have possessed in any eminent degree, but because they were taught it by Noah, who had himself received a knowledge of its principles from the inhabitants of the antediluvian world. How could they have preserved themselves from the idolatry which infested their brethren, had they not separated themselves from them before they were corrupted? They have also retained the knowledge and adoration of one only God, of his providence, and the idea, always present to their minds, of the punishments prepared for the wicked; doctrines which the scourge of the deluge had deeply engraven on the memory of Noah. The Chinese books in every part recommend them in energetic terms to persevere in this separation. In consequence of this admonition, not only have they shut their empire against all strangers, but neither may they undertake long voyages, in



which they might be likely to imbibe foreign notions and customs. Wine made of the juice of the grape was always forbidden them. Might not one suppose that this prohibition came from Noah, who certainly had not much reason to boast of this liquor?

The learned also adduce other proofs drawn from the language, chronology, and astronomical observations, whence they infer that Noah was the founder and legislator of the Chinese. Without going back to such high antiquity, it is sufficient for us to find emperors of China more than two thousand years before the birth of Christ. Five dynasties are computed prior to that period, from which we will extract some remarkable events; but will forbear to fix the epochs till after the fifth dynasty, when we shall have arrived at the common era.

In the course of the first known dynasty, although at no great distance from times that might be denominated innocent, we find many more bad than good princes—indolent tyrants stained with every crime; we also see many rebellions; some estimable tributary princes coming forwards to succour the people, dethroning the wicked emperors, and touched by their repentance, restoring them their crowns. The last who experienced these vicissitudes, was obliged to flee into the deserts, where he lived in obscurity during three years. Yu-ta, head

The five first
dynasties be-
gun 2207
years before
Christ.

of the first dynasty, was an excellent prince, an impartial dispenser of justice, and lover of agriculture, the improvement of which he encouraged. The art of extracting wine from rice was discovered in his time. He exiled the inventor from his dominions, and prohibited the liquor as capable of introducing much evil into the empire. Futile precaution! the use of rice wine has been preserved, and excess has realized Yu-ta's apprehensions.

Forewarned by his predecessor's catastrophe, Ching-Tong, chief of the second dynasty, named Chang, gave the greatest proofs of wisdom and virtue. Satisfied with having freed the Chinese from their oppressive yoke, he for a long time refused the sceptre; but at length he accepted it, and reigned a model for future princes. Tai-vu, one of his successors, terrified at a prodigy which made him fear a revolution, received the following lesson from his minister: "Virtue has the power of triumphing over
" presages. If you govern your subjects with
" equity, you will be beyond the reach of mis-
" fortune." He ordered that in each city a certain number of old men should be maintained out of the public treasury: this law is still observed. Under Vu-Ting, a mason became prime-minister, and astonished the empire by his knowledge and prudence. This dynasty,

after twenty-eight emperors, was terminated like the first by the vices of him who filled the throne.

The third dynasty, named Chew, reckons thirty-five emperors. The maxim of one of them was: "That the prince's happiness ought to depend on that of his subjects, and that he should be incapable of tasting pleasure, if his people suffered." Another, very different from him, considered his soldiers' fatigue as an amusement, and dearly paid for it. He had commanded them that as soon as they perceived lighted fires, they should take up their arms, and hasten to him. In one of these false alarms, he observed that his favourite was greatly entertained at seeing the troops run as soon as the signal was given. He frequently repeated it for no other reason than to see her laugh at their hurry, and the shame they betrayed at having taken such unnecessary trouble. It happened that on an occasion of real importance, the soldiers, repeatedly deceived, remained quiet, although the fires were lighted. The enemy penetrated even into the monarch's tent, and slew him.

Under the second emperor of the fourth dynasty, called Cin, the great wall was built. It was the work of the emperor Ching, who also has given to his name an odious immortality, for having caused all the books through-

out the empire to be burnt, except those treating of architecture and physic.

Some of the literati suffered death for having saved a part of the proscribed volumes; but as they were not all contained in the same place, many escaped the tyrant's researches. We are told that, fearing lest his bad actions should be known, he endeavoured to discourage the historians, by inspiring them with an apprehension of their works experiencing a similar fate. He instituted a new code of laws, and that probably was the true cause of his burning the other books.

The chieftain of a banditti, named Lien Pang, dethroned the last emperor of the fourth dynasty, and began the fifth called Han. He proved himself worthy of the throne, by his moderation and clemency. Lien Pang was one of the very few princes who in their dynasty governed by themselves. Under the rest, the eunuchs enjoyed a great degree of authority, which they always abused. Factions were formed. One of them, known under the appellation of yellow-caps, made itself master of the empire, which ended in its dismemberment. In future we will give in the margin the names of the dynasties, and their date, and select, in the style of annals, those facts which appear to merit attention.

6th dynasty,
Hew Han,
220 after
Christ.

A prince descended from Lien Pang, in a very distant degree, reunited the scattered fragments

of the empire under one sceptre, and began the sixth dynasty. It ended in his grand-son. This young prince, ardent and courageous, sustained for some time his father's tottering throne, which was attacked from every quarter. At length, seeing affairs arrived at a most fatal crisis, and the feeble emperor still hesitating what measures to pursue, he said to him: "There is no time for deliberation; this is the decisive moment. Either conquer, or die with arms in your hand and the crown on your head." The emperor, deficient in courage, refused to fight. The young prince, afflicted at his cowardice, retired to the hall of his ancestors, slew his wife, and then himself. The emperor surrendered himself to his rival, who granted him a petty sovereignty.

Chi-tsu-vu-ti preserved by his arms that empire they had acquired him. As soon as he was at peace, he sank into a state of indolence. He left a son incapable of governing, the simple spectator of the disturbances of his palace, occasioned by two women, the empress and the queen. The latter surpassing her rival in wickedness and address, poisoned both her and her son. The weak emperor is dethroned, and succeeded by a prince of his race. The son of the latter was attacked by a prince of his relations, who killed his sons, took him prisoner, obliged the emperor to wait on him at table in the habit of a slave, and put him to death. Nan-King then became the

7th dynasty,
Tin, 264.

capital. The race of fifteen emperors terminates in Ngan Ti, an indolent prince, unworthy of a throne.

3th dynasty,
Song, 420.

Under his reign, a man named Lyew Yn, whose employment was to sell shoes from place to place, made himself a soldier, became general, and usurped the throne. His exterior was noble and majestic, and his courage equal to his modesty, which particularly appeared in his attire. He left a son, the contrast of himself, vain and frivolous. Veu Ti, his successor, was too favourable to the bonfes. The empire was at that time divided into two parts. The sovereign of the western part, on the contrary, ordered all the bonfes to be massacred. Veu Ti was killed by his son; and the parricide by his brother. The latter was little beloved on account of the latitude he gave his tongue. This pleasure cost him dear. One of his wives, whom he had called *old*, stifled him in his bed. This race finished with the eighth emperor: the two last monarchs of it, one aged fourteen, and the other fifteen, were slain by Kao-ti, their prime-minister.

9th dynasty,
Ti, 479.

Kao-ti was not deficient in a good opinion of his own capacity. "If I reign ten years," would he say, "I will make gold as common as dirt." A caprice took him one day to have all the jewels with which he was covered taken off his clothes, and ground to powder. "They are good for nothing," said he, "but to in-

“spire a taste for luxury, and encourage cupidity.” His son was the author of the famous ordinance, which forbids the mandarins to remain more than three years in the same place. During his reign appeared Fan-Chin, a patron of the literati, who taught that all things are the effect of chance; that the soul dies with the body; and that after this life the fate of men is similar to that of brutes. Five emperors formed the whole of this dynasty.

The tenth comprehends only four, beginning with Siao-Ywen, prime-minister, and assassin of the last prince. He was active, industrious, vigilant, and very expeditious. Although he had been till then solely employed in the study of the sciences, he shewed himself very skilful in the military art. He forbade his subjects to sacrifice animals, and commanded them to substitute figures of them made of meal. Towards the end of his reign he neglected the affairs of state, to devote himself to the chimeras of the bonfes: it is even said that he became a bonse himself. His family was a very pious race. The last emperor but one also attached himself to the ministers of the religion of Fo. While his attention was wholly absorbed in that, his prime-minister attacked him in his capital. He took up arms, marched round his ramparts, examined the position of the enemy, and exclaimed: “All is lost! it is all over with the sciences!” He then set

fire to his library, consisting of a hundred and forty thousand volumes, and surrendered to the conqueror, who put both him and his son to death. While he was thus employed, the emperor of the north was burning the temples of the bonfes, and destroying their idols.

11th dy-
nasty, Chin,
557.

The usurper, founder of the eleventh dynasty, like his devout predecessor, was extremely attached to the bonfes. His brother, who succeeded him, concealed till then in the obscurity of a private life, on the throne displayed the qualities of a great prince. He regulated the length of the hours, and ordered them to be struck on the palace drum, which is still observed. His race produced but five emperors: the last, a martyr to his vices, was dethroned by the prime-minister of the western empire.

12th dy-
nasty, Swi,
596.

Three emperors who composed this race, performed great things. The first, the western minister, named Kao-tsu-ven-ti, without the smallest pretensions to learning, was endued with a solid penetrating mind. He loved his people, caused public granaries to be built, which were every year to be filled with rice and corn by every family according to their circumstances. He reformed their music and eloquence, and imparted to them that manly character which they had lost. This prince was inexorable towards criminals and iniquitous judges. He prohibited those being educated at the public expense

who were designed for trade and the mechanic arts. His son forbade his people wearing arms; and ordered all books treating on war, politics, medicine, and agriculture, to be revised by the most learned men among the literati. He regulated the examination according to the rank of the doctors in civil and military departments. The son of a petty sovereign, named Li Ywen, usurped the throne, become vacant by the unforeseen death of Kao-tsu-ven-ti's grand-son.

Li Ywen, on arriving at the emperor's palace, ^{13th dynasty, Jang,} was lost in amazement at its magnificence. ^{618.}

"No," said he, "it is not possible to suffer so superb an edifice as this to remain, which is only fit to corrupt the heart of a prince, and render him effeminate." After this reflexion, our enthusiast in virtue's cause reduced the whole building to a heap of ashes. He followed the doctrines of the literati, and vacated the throne to live in tranquillity. He commanded that a hundred thousand idle bonzes should marry, to add subjects to the state. Tai-tsung, his son, was one of the greatest of the Chinese emperors—wise, frugal, easy of access. His ministers wished to excite his apprehensions on the facility with which he suffered himself to be approached. He replied: "I consider myself in my empire as a father in his family. I carry all my subjects in my bosom, as if they were my children. What have I to fear?" Affected with the deepest grief,

on account of a cloud of locusts which covered his dominions in the second year of his reign, he exclaimed: "Wretched insects! by destroying
" the harvests, you deprive my people of life.
" Ah! I would much rather that you should de-
" vour my entrails." He cleared the empire of conjurors; a pest, perhaps, not less pernicious than locusts. He granted amnesties, and delivered prisoners; but there were three boons, which he used to say a prudent prince should be very cautious of bestowing. The bastinado was then given on the back and shoulders. He ordered it to be inflicted lower, because he had read in a medical book, that when the back or shoulders are wounded or bruised, the nobler parts are affected by it; thus he neglected no circumstance which might be useful. Christianity was introduced under his reign. On the death of his calao, or prime-minister, who had been of considerable utility to him, he said—"We have three
" sorts of looking-glasses: the first serves the
" ladies to dress by; the second is the ancient
" volumes, in which we read the rise, the progress, and the decline of empires; the third is
" mankind, in whose actions, if we will but study
" them, we see both what we ought to practise,
" and what we ought to avoid. I possessed this
" latter mirror in the person of my calao. Unfortunately I have lost him without hope of
" finding his equal."

Tai-tsung left his son excellent instructions, but which were useless to him. This prince attached himself to a wicked woman to whom the dagger or poison were equally familiar. She filled both the kingdom and the court with mourning. The succeeding emperor's wife was neither less cruel nor less criminal. His son is said to have been the restorer of his family. However, he repudiated his wife, put three of his children to death without any cause, and married his daughter-in-law. All luxury was odious to him. He endeavoured to extirpate it for ever by destroying all the gold and silver vessels, and ornaments of his palace. This emperor intrusted a great degree of authority to the eunuchs and the bonfes. His grand-son was dethroned by a rebel. This latter ordered the elephants and horses into his presence, which had been trained to dance to the sound of instruments, and to offer a cup to the emperor; but they never could be made to display their talents for the usurper. It no doubt was the fault of their teachers, who omitted to make them the usual signs; but the animals were the sufferers, and were killed to the amount of a hundred.

Under the ninth successor, the power of the eunuchs occasioned a rebellion. The eleventh bears the character of much penetration and intelligence, but he was notwithstanding obstinately

bigotted to the absurdities of the bonfes. He even was so ridiculous as to send into every part in search of the waters of immortality, of which the disciples of Lao-Kyun pretended to have the secret. The eunuchs presented it to him, and he instantly expired. The fifteenth emperor of this dynasty instituted a law, which is still observed. Once in seven years the provincial mandarins are obliged to send a written, sincere, and circumstantial confession of the faults they have committed, and to ask the emperor's pardon. If they excuse or endeavour to palliate their errors, they have no favour to expect, and are infallibly deprived of their employments. His son, though in other respects replete with sense and talents, also had the folly to aspire after immortality. He took the draught, and died not suddenly like the other, but was a martyr to worms. The eunuchs, who were extremely numerous and all powerful in the palace, massacred one of their masters, poisoned another, and were at length themselves exterminated by the nineteenth emperor, whose son, the twentieth of his race, only just took his seat upon the throne.

14th dynasty, Hew Lyang, 907.

His murderer Tai-Tfu the First did not long enjoy the reward of his crime. His eldest son slew him, and was himself slain by his brother Mo-ti. Anarchy was at its height in the empire. An able general, supported by a powerful party, attacked Mo-ti. The emperor having been

vanquished, killed himself in despair, and his family became extinct.

The general Chuang-tsung, become monarch, ^{15th dynasty, Hew Tang, 923.} preserved his martial habits. He lived frugally, slept on the bare ground, and for fear of falling into too sound a sleep, wore a bell hung to his neck. But he tarnished his glory in the first years of his reign by his immoderate love of plays. He himself took a part to amuse the queens and his daughters. He is also accused of having been sordidly avaricious, and without any commiseration for the poor. His son Ming-tsung the First greatly favoured the learned. Printing was invented during his reign. He was very pious: the chief end of his prayers was for the good of his subjects. This dynasty furnished four emperors. The last, pursued by the father's murderers, burned himself together with his family.

The usurper, named Kao-tsu the First, saw the ^{16th dynasty, Hew-tsin, 936.} empire dismembered. He was constrained to cede a part of it to the Tartars. His son levied a formidable army, which he preceded with a detachment. His general, secretly aspiring to the throne, advanced only by slow marches, and gave the enemy time to seize the emperor. They exiled him to a small principality.

The treacherous general encircled his brow ^{17th dynasty, Hew-tsin, 947.} with the diadem. He made an ignominious peace with the Tartars, by which he ceded to

them the whole booty. In-ti, his son, shewed more courage; but while he was repulsing the enemy on the frontiers, the eunuchs excited a revolt in the palace. He returned to quell it, and was killed. The empress tried every means in her power to get her son acknowledged; but she was obliged to yield to the general whom the troops had saluted emperor. He always respected her as his mother.

18th dynasty, Hew-
chan, 951.

Tai-tsu, this general, had a profound veneration for Confucius. He paid a visit to his tomb, His son Chi-tsung the First imitated his virtues. At the very summit of human grandeur he still retained a modest deportment. A plough and a loom had an honourable place in his palace. He ordered the granaries to be opened in a time of dearth, and the rice to be sold at a very inferior price. "They are my children," said he speaking of his people; "it would be very improper that their father should abandon them" and leave them to perish of hunger, while he "has enough to satisfy his own." In this extremity he caused the idols to be melted down and coined into money. This prince died too soon for his son, whose great youth incapacitated him from reigning. The nobles chose the prime-minister to succeed him.

19th dynasty, Song,
960.

Under the name of Tai-tsu the Third he proved himself worthy of his exaltation; and possessed all the qualities requisite to render a state happy

and flourishing. The four gates of his palace opposite to the four quarters of the world were never shut. "I will," said he, "have my house, like my heart, open to all my subjects." During a very severe winter in which his troops were employed against the northern Tartars, he sent his cloak lined with fur to his general, telling him that he wished it were in his power to give one like it to each of his soldiers. When on the eve of taking a city, anticipating the havoc that would ensue, he feigned illness. His officers, alarmed, approached him, and each of them advised the remedy he thought best. "The most efficacious," replied the emperor, "depends on you. Give me your oath, that you will not shed the blood of the citizens." They swore as he desired; and Tai-tsu immediately recovered. Under Ching-tsung, the third emperor of this dynasty, the number of persons capable of cultivating the land, without counting the magistrates, the literati, the eunuchs, soldiers, bonzes, and mariners, amounted to twenty-one millions, one hundred and seventy-six thousand, nine hundred and sixty-five men.

In a time of scarcity Ching-tsung, the sixth emperor of his race, became very sorrowful, and endeavoured by his prayers to deprecate celestial wrath. The literati, to whom he was too favourable, had the temerity to tell him, that he distressed himself to no purpose; that whatever

happened in the world was purely the effect of chance. The prime-minister, addressing them in a firm tone, said: "What doctrines have you dared to inculcate? If an emperor should arrive at such a height, as neither to respect nor fear Heaven, of what crimes might he not be capable?" The prime-minister presented the ten following maxims to the monarch's son. Fear heaven: Love your subjects: Endeavour to become perfect: Apply yourself to the sciences: Raise persons of merit to the dignities of state: Lend your attention to the advice that is offered you: Diminish the taxes: Moderate the rigour of the tortures: Avoid prodigality: Hold debauchery in horror.—Under Li-tsung, the fourteenth emperor, by no means warlike himself, his generals expelled the eastern Tartars, who retreated nearly into their own territory, from whence they afterwards returned, and reconquered China, which they still possess.

20th dynasty.
Iwen,
1280.

This Tartar family regulated the administration of the empire so well, that its reign was denominated the *wise government*. The chief took the Chinese name Chi-tsu. He meditated an expedition into Japan, reformed the calendar, and caused the famous canal to be dug, which is three hundred leagues in length. His successors until the ninth, which terminated this race, established the religion of Fo in China. One of them invited the Grand-lama from Thibet, and

received him with most extraordinary ceremonies. With the lamas, entered also magic, dancing-girls, and debauchery, which perverted the *wise government*. A servant of the bonzes, named Chu, taking advantage of the disturbances occasioned by a bad administration, rose from rank to rank to be general of the rebels, compelled the emperor Chun-ti to flee, who returned no more, and seated himself on his throne.

Chu took the name of Tai-tsu IV. His piety ^{21st dynasty.} equalled his wisdom and penetration. In a time of drought, he continued in prayer during three days upon a mountain, and only descended when it rained. His grand-son ordered a diamond-mine to be closed. "I will not," said he, "fatigue my people with useless labour; besides which, these precious stones, however valuable they appear, can neither clothe nor feed in a season of scarcity." He might have been answered—They procure that which will purchase clothes and food. Under Swen-tsung, his fifth successor, the palace caught fire, and raged during some days with so much violence, that a great quantity of gold, silver, copper, and tin, was melted. There was formed from it a mass of metal which is still in esteem in China. The catastrophe of this dynasty, which ended with the thirteenth emperor, was announced by continual commotions during several reigns. Two rebels divided the empire. They very

soon engaged in hostilities. One only remained, called Li. He attacked Hiao-tsung in his palace: the prince attempted to rally out on his enemies and perish sword in hand. He found himself abandoned by his troops; he returned, and retired into the inmost recesses of his garden. The empress, to whom he was most tenderly attached, came up to him; he embraced her in silent agony. She understood his expressive grief, entered into a wood, and hanged herself on a tree. Hiao-tsung as he wandered on perceived her. He wrote on the border of his vest: "My subjects have basely deserted me. Do with me as you please; but spare my people." With one blow of his cimeter he struck off the head of his beloved daughter, and then hanged himself by the side of his wife. The nobles of the empire called in against the insurgents the assistance of the Manchew Tartars, who are at present in possession of the throne.

22d dynasty, T'ing,
1645

The nobility imagined they should find in the Tartars auxiliaries, who would assist them in placing a Chinese emperor on the throne; but when the Tartars had obliged the rebels to lay down their arms, they considered the empire a just reward for their trouble. Deceived in this expectation, one of these lords used to say: "We have called in the wolves to drive out the dogs." The Chinese princes of the blood,

however, did not tamely bend their necks to the yoke without attempting to shake it off. Competitors arose in several of the provinces against Xun Chi, the first Manchew emperor, and hostilities were carried on with great obstinacy both by sea and land. On the former element, a general, named Coxinga, signalized his attachment for the family of his ancient masters, and held the victory for some time in suspense, but all the unfortunate princes of China perished one after another. Xun-chi, by his attention in conforming himself to the Chinese manners, taught his people to love, as well as fear him. They scarcely perceived that they had changed their ruler. He fell a victim to his grief for the death of a beloved wife, and expired at the age of thirty-four.

He left a son under the guardianship of four excellent men, whose sole pleasure was in forming his mind to virtue. Kang-hi did justice to their care. During his minority, an order was issued, commanding the inhabitants of the coasts to quit them, and remove three leagues in-land. Commerce by sea was absolutely interdicted, and still continues so. It is tolerated only in the port of Canton, and there not without many troublesome restrictions. At the same time there were some very severe edicts promulgated against the christians; notwithstanding which, several jesuits remained at court as men of learning. The

emperors shewed them much consideration; but they never could obtain a repeal of the sentence against the other christians. Kang-hi experienced domestic afflictions, occasioned by his two sons, whom he successively banished. Ere his death, he recalled Yong-ching, who succeeded him.

This prince lived in 1722, and after having been favourably inclined to the christians while prince, became very inimical to them when emperor. He explained himself in such a manner to the jesuits as to give them to understand, that their religion had caused commotions in some of the provinces of the empire. "What would you say," said he to them, "if I were to send a troop of bonzes and lamas into your country, to preach our law? How would you receive them? Would you have all the Chinese become christians? Your faith requires it I well know. But in that case what would be our fate? The subjects of your kings, the prophets that you make, acknowledge only you. In case of any disturbance, they would attend to no voice but your's. I know very well that at present there is no cause for apprehension; but when your ships should arrive by thousands and ten thousands, then they may probably occasion much confusion."

These motives, whether true or false, occasioned the banishment of the jesuits; but some

still continued there, who, as persons of literature, were both esteemed and protected.

KOREA.

It is very difficult for a territory of small extent in the vicinity of a mighty empire not to become its vassal, if it escape being swallowed up by it. Such has been the fate of Korea, a peninsula between China and Japan. It has been to those nations what the island of Sicily was to the Carthaginians and Romans, a species of nursery in which these people were trained to arms. But in ceding to them the field of battle, the Koreans, like the Sicilians, have frequently been drawn into their wars, which produced intestine broils among the inhabitants, and have been attended with all their horrors. For the same reason, the manners of the Koreans have participated, and still participate, of those of the Chinese and Japanese; less however of the latter, because the Chinese have for a length of time had the superiority in the peninsula, which they have made tributary to them.

Korea is mountainous in its extremity which joins to Tartary, and in the part covered with forests, proper for hunting. It furnishes a quantity of very good furs. There are several convenient little harbours on its coasts. The sea is deep on the side of China; but dan-

Korea, between the Chinese and Japanese seas, and Chinese Tartary.

gerous on that of Japan on account of the shallows. The peninsula is watered by two large rivers flowing through its whole length, which receive a multitude of smaller ones. The climate is, in general, severe. The grain, fruits, and herbage, are inferior to those of China. The commerce of Korea is limited to the two kingdoms contiguous to its coasts. On the continental side it is carried a short distance into Tartary. The men are well made, robust, and martial; the women amiable. Their religion, police, language, and government, all have a resemblance to those of China, in that gradation of shade which is always observable in the provinces, according to their distance from the capital.

By recurring to the Chinese annals in consulting those of Japan, we find some traits relative to the Koreans much earlier than our common æra. These consist of irruptions made into their territory, brave repulses, involuntary submissions, returns to independence, and always a monarchy sometimes haughtily repulsing the forces of the enemy threatening it ruin, sometimes couching beneath, and ignominiously bearing the yoke. Such is the present state of the Korean monarchs with respect to the Chinese emperor. In the interior of their palace, and even of their families, these sovereigns dare not engage in any measure without the concurrence of that prince, who acts towards them as their despotic lord.

The last of these princes of whom we have any account was named Li-ton, and reigned in 1720, if it may be called reigning, dependent as this monarch appears to have been. He had repudiated his wife named Min-chi, and in her stead had taken a concubine called Chang-chi. "I did not fail," said he, writing to the emperor, "to inform your majesty of it; but since, reflecting that Minchi was queen through your majesty's means, that she long governed my family, that she assisted me in the sacrifices, that she attended on the queen my great grand-mother, and that she wore mourning three years with me, I acknowledge that I ought to have treated her more honourably. I therefore wish at present to re-establish Minchi in her former dignity of queen, and make Chang-hi return to her condition of concubine, by which means good order will be restored in my family, and a reform of morals be happily introduced into my kingdom. Therefore I, your subject, although by my ignorance and stupidity I have degraded the honour of my ancestors, have served your majesty during twenty years; and am indebted for all I have to your goodness, which serves as my shield and my protection: I have neither any public nor private concern that I wish to conceal from you; and that has been the reason which has two or three times em-

“ boldened me to solicit your majesty on the
 “ present occasion ; and as it interests both the
 “ happiness of my family and the desire of my
 “ subjects, I thought that, without being want-
 “ ing in respect, I might present this supplica-
 “ tion to your majesty.” This petition was re-
 ferred by the emperor to the tribunal of rites ; and
 at length granted after the second or third solici-
 tation. By the style of this letter from a king, we
 may judge of the manner in which the Chinese
 address their emperors. Here entirely ends the
 dominion of the Tartars, which has not been ex-
 tended into the islands of which we are about
 to treat, known under the name of Japan.

JAPAN.

Japan Islands
 on the most
 eastern ex-
 tremity of
 Asia.

The kingdom of Japan comprehends three
 principal islands, adjacent to each other, longer
 than they are wide, almost touching at the ex-
 tremities, and surrounded by a very tempestuous
 sea, filled with rocks, shallows, whirlpools, and
 abysses, which ingulph with a terrifying noise
 the ships that come within their vortex. Some-
 times the wrecks remain under water, at others
 they are cast up at the distance of some leagues.
 This country, designed by nature to be separat-
 ed from every other, was discovered towards the
 middle of the sixteenth century by some Portu-
 guese merchants trading to China, who were
 driven by a storm on its coast. The reports of

the first adventurers induced other Portuguese to visit it, and carried missionaries thither, who met with a favourable reception on account of their skill in the arts and sciences. They were permitted to preach their religion.

Very few countries can boast the riches of Japan. Nature has been prodigal of her treasures; grain, fruits, vegetables, pasturage, domestic and savage animals, even to the elephant. The extensive forests are filled with the most valuable trees, the sea and rivers abound in fish. Here are hot springs; minerals of every species, from gold down to lead; grey amber, called by the natives *excrement of whales*; coral, both red and white; very fine pearls, marine salt, &c.

Climate and productions.

The Japanese excel in the tempering of steel. Their arms have a firmness of edge far superior to all others; but they do not suffer any to be exported from the country. Those may believe who please, that their sabres will cut through a bar of iron an inch thick at a single stroke, without turning the edge. Exclusive of the aliments provided by nature, they extract them from substances which seem incapable of yielding any; as the bark of trees, the moss which covers the rocks, and the roots of insipid plants, from which they have the art of drawing a nutritive property. While the men are fertilizing the stony mountains, the women are plunging many fathoms into the ocean, whence they return with shells, and marine plants, and clearing from their

disagreeable qualities those that have such, and render them palatable to the taste. Of what infinite resource might be this industry in seasons of scarcity!

These advantages are balanced by inconveniences. The summer is prodigiously hot, and the winter extremely cold. During summer the thunder storms are terrific, and accompanied by rains that rather pour than fall. The waters make most dreadful ravages; the showers joined to the sea-breezes temper the heat. In no part of the world are there known such frequent and tremendous earthquakes. It is astonishing that so precarious a land should find inhabitants; but man grows accustomed to every situation, and the habit once acquired, enables him to live as well on the volcano, as in the threatening depths of mines and quarries. These calamities, however use may reconcile them, render the people superstitious and devout. They believe them to be excited by malignant spirits, or the devil, whom they call the *principle of evil*, and whose wrath they leave no means untried to deprecate:—offerings, vows, and even human victims.

Religion.

From time immemorial the religion of Japan has been pagan and idolatrous. The Japanese believe the world to be eternal; that the gods whom they adore were once men, who lived many hundred thousand years on earth, and whom their piety, penance, and voluntary death, exalted to

the highest state of enjoyment. They are divided into three sects: that of Xinto, who worship the ancient idols of the nation; that of Budzo, which has introduced an infinite number of foreign idols, particularly the worship of Fo; and that of the moralists, or philosophers resembling those of the literati of China, and like them inwardly despising the established worship and the popular superstitions. Every individual follows the religion he prefers: no person is constrained in that respect. The father, wife, and children, frequently have a different profession of faith, without its giving rise to any disagreement.

Amida and Xaca are the divinities of the Xintoists: they are also revered by the other sects. These gods are considered by the Japanese, not only as the chief dispensers of longevity, and all present good, but of future rewards and punishments; for they all admit of a state either of happiness or misery after this life, though they do not fix its duration. Many believe that it consists in the transmigrations of souls from one body to another. Cambadoxi, another celebrated god, seems to have been a great villain, who became also a great penitent, and carried his austerities to the highest pitch by causing his sepulchre to be dug, in which he still lies. He appeared to the bonzes. His tomb is the object of a famous pilgrimage. They say

that he invented the letters employed in Japan. A number of temples are erected to his honour, in which bonfes and bonfesses perform religious rites.

A rigorous state of celibacy is enjoined to all those who live in societies, fimilar to our regular communities. There is also a fecular clergy, forming the different degrees of a hierarchy, of which the dairo, or ecclesiastical emperor, is the head. The populace have much more confidence in the regular bonfes, on account of the austeritiy of their lives; they pretend by the sufferings they inflict on themselves, their fasts and macerations of every kind, not only to acquire merit, and exempt themselves from future torments, but likewise to extend their supererogatory merits to the pious for whom they pray. The appalling descriptions they make of the tortures of the damned, the horrific pictures which cover the walls of their temples, inspire a salutary awe in the great, and the vulgar with a dread of vice, which is not without its advantages to the bonfes themselves, whose merits they endeavour to appropriate by means of presents. The missionaries report, that the most rigid of Cambadoxi's ministers, who preach and affect the utmost contempt for the world, are only impostors and hypocrites, who live in the opposite extreme from that which their maxims inculcate. Some protestant authors pretend

that it is not necessary to travel to Japan to find examples of this contrariety.

Their temples are very magnificent, very numerous, and, in general, placed on acclivities. The monasteries which belong to them are agreeable; some of them are extremely spacious, and abounding with every convenience of life. They apparently measure the power of the idol by its size; for there are some which even surpass the gigantic. Their holidays commence with processions, chanting, and perfuming, and end with the panegyric of the god, and feasting. They also work miracles. We will not reckon among the number that which is performed in the temple of Tencheda. Every month a young girl is introduced there, the place is splendidly illumined with golden lamps, in which the most agreeable perfumes are burned; the lights are suddenly extinguished; the young girl feels the presence of the god. If she becomes a mother she is sovereignly respected, and the gift of prophecy remains with her for ever.

Christianity was favourably received by the Japanese, who found, say they, a great conformity between their religion and that which the jesuits taught. The Japanese expect all their happiness, both in this life and that to come, from the favour and merits of their Xaca, Amida, and the rest of their gods, in virtue of the long and rigorous mortifications they vo-

luntarily endured to be deified. The jesuits preached a divine person, who descended from heaven, and voluntarily submitted to an ignominious and painful death, to save those who believed in him. The Japanese canonized those who through melancholy or discontent had put a period to their existence, celebrated their memory, solicited their intercession; the jesuits, with much greater justice, extolled the thousands of martyrs of the primitive church, whose heroic constancy entitles them to a much higher degree of honour, and to contribute by their intercessions to the happiness of those who entreat their mediation.

Thus the expiatory penances of the christians were unable to terrify the Japanese. The latter think the devil the author of evil, and the former the instigator. An eternity of torment, preached by the missionaries, affected not the imagination very differently from the length of that announced by the bonfes; besides, purgatory brought them nearly on a level. In a word, there was a striking similitude between the catholic and Japanese rites—images, lights, incense, monks and nuns, celibacy, processions, prayers for the departed, confessions, and several other things which are equally practised by both. All these concurring circumstances were of great importance towards the establishment of the christian reli-

gion. The jesuits had no doubt of quickly succeeding, when, by a sudden reverse, which is thought to have originated in the jealousy of the bonfes, christianity was proscribed, persecuted, and may be considered as annihilated in Japan, by the measures taken to banish it for ever.

The emperors of Japan were formerly both monarchs and sovereign pontiffs, under the title of dairos. Their person and character were then held so sacred, that the slightest resistance to their orders was detested and punished as crimes committed against God himself. They were in some measure adored by their subjects, and conducted themselves like a species of divinities. They never set their feet on the ground, neither the sun nor wind were suffered to approach them; they never wore the same clothes a second day, nor eat twice in the same table utensils; their hair, beard, or nails, were never cut, but to be converted into relics; the titles they took or were given to them had a tendency to blasphemy, and the honours paid them to idolatry. Absorbed in this excess of luxurious indolence, the dairos delegated the whole care of the military and civil administration to their prime-minister, with the title of cubo, as general of the forces. Usually their office was bestowed on the youngest brother; the eldest was always heir to the throne. One

of these cubos deprived the dairo of all the civil authority. Since that time the dairos have only been, and are still, the heads of religion, and arbiters of ecclesiastical affairs; while the cubo disposes with absolute authority of all concerns both civil and military.

The dairo, notwithstanding, continues to live in the same splendour as his ancestors. The cubo is obliged to pay him a sort of homage, as if he governed only in quality of his lieutenant. This homage consists in travelling, at least once in five years, from Jeddo, which is his seat of empire, to Meaco, the ancient capital, to make a pompous visit to the dairo. There he renders him his duty in person, offers him magnificent presents, and acknowledges that it is from his family he holds the imperial crown. He is obliged to espouse a daughter of the dairo's, if he have any marriageable. She is crowned empress, and then given to the emperor as the seal and confirmation of the imperial power.

As this multiplicity of power might cause disturbances, the cubo takes efficacious measures to prevent it. All the princes, whether tributaries or vassals, are constrained to reside at Jeddo six months of the year. Their eldest sons are educated and remain at court till he sends them back; their wives and other children accompany their father during his continuance

at Jeddo, and cannot be detained after his departure. Every year they renew their oath of fidelity. When in their principalities they are furrounded with spies. To prevent the people from revolting, throughout the year the emperor employs an hundred thousand men, who relieve each other in various public works, on the roads, canals, and other places, and keeps numerous garrisons in the cities. The streets are shut at night; the magistrate is responsible for every occurrence, and for one single fault committed in a house, the whole neighbourhood is punished.

The troops constantly ready for service consist ^{Militia,} of a body of an hundred thousand foot soldiers, and twenty thousand horsemen, excellently armed, exercised, and disciplined. During war, with the contingent of the princes, they amount to three hundred and sixty thousand infantry, and thirty-eight thousand cavalry. The young people are taught their exercise from their infancy. Every year they give proofs of their expertness in public. They are divided into two corps or small armies, having each their standard. The images and statues of the gods are also carried in the front to animate their courage. They begin by slinging stones; they shoot arrows, discharge muskets, come to close attack sword in hand; and it rarely happens that these

sports, as they call them, do not cost many lives.

Finances and
laws.

The revenues of the cubo amount to millions, and exceed all belief. Indeed, he requires immense sums to pay his troops, spies, pensioners, justice, police, and to support the expenses of the court, perhaps the most splendid in the universe. He has twenty palaces on the great road which extends from Jeddo to Meaco, all superbly furnished, although he inhabits them only once in five or seven years, when he goes to pay his homage to the dairo, without reckoning a great number of others scattered through the empire for hunting, fishing, and other amusements. The laws are rigorous, and the punishments so severe as to exceed the bounds of justice. Almost every offence is death, and the only difference consists in its being more or less ignominious, or more or less cruel. The most noble is for the criminal to rip himself up, at a signal from the emperor. Those who hesitate only expose themselves to suffer tortures as well as death. Opposition to the emperor's edicts, malversations in the offices of judicature, depredation in the finances, exactions, extortions, coining, are all punished not only by the death of the delinquent, but of his father, children, brothers, and all his male relations; and though they should be at a considerable distance, measures are taken for them all to be executed on the

same day at the same hour. The punishment of high treason and rebellion extends throughout the whole criminal quarter. Why did not the neighbours inform? They are supposed to have concealed it. The mothers, daughters, sisters, of common culprits are sold as slaves during a long or short period of time, according to the nature of the crime, and the proximity of blood; but in cases of treason, the wives and daughters also suffer death.

Rape, adultery, murder, robbery with violence, incest, are punished with death. The smallest offences expose the culprit to the bastinado more or less severe, and to gashes on the head or limbs. In this manner are corrected those who quarrel, slander, injure, defraud, or assert a falsehood before a magistrate. Banishment and transportation into desert islands are likewise usual. The tortures not anticipated by a voluntary death are being nailed on a cross with the head downwards, put into boiling water, or cut to pieces alive by the executioner. But things seldom come to that extremity. The religion of the Japanese familiarize them with death, and render it not only indifferent but even desirable: they consider dying by their own hand as a meritorious act, which assimilates them to their deities, and makes them worthy of rewards in a future state. There is no country where suicide is so frequent.

Morals.

Travellers pretend to have found among the Japanese an assemblage of virtues and vices that appear incompatible, were it not proved that man is susceptible of the greatest contrasts. They possess, say they, a great deal of sense and penetration; are modest, patient, civil, docile, industrious, laborious, punctual to their word; detest all fraud; never take advantage of the ignorance of those with whom they deal; are attached only to innocent pleasures; are neither rapacious, slanderous, nor ostentatious: they abhor gluttony, drunkenness, avoid obscene discourse, and preserve much decency both in their conversation and conduct; at the same time they are ambitious, proud, cruel, insensible to the misery of their fellow-creatures, and persuaded, according to the tenets of their religion, that no one is unfortunate who is not culpable. No man on earth is so vindictive as a Japanese. If he cannot find a means of killing his enemy, he will kill himself through vexation. The women in that respect imitate the men. Both polygamy and fornication are allowed. There are houses of public resort for the young men and foreigners. This nation, so pure in conversation and exterior manners, publicly practises the crime which nature abhors. In war, the Japanese are cruel and ferocious, and neither ask nor give quarter. A town that is taken is delivered up to fire; and their pirates, on finding themselves the

weaker party, either blow up their vessels or sink them.

They are said to be fond of study and reading. The only science found among them is that of ethics; some knowledge of their history, and of astronomy and geometry, of which we may judge by their division of the world between Japan, China, and Siam. They believed, however, in the influence of the stars; and they had, and still continue to have, universities kept by the bonfes. Their instructions are confined to religion and morality. They are said to be such excellent preachers, that they sometimes melt their congregation into tears. For their code of laws, they are satisfied with good sense. Their physicians prescribe bathing and drinking their mineral waters. As their drink in health is warm, so in illness they take it cold. They make punctures in the flesh with needles: this operation is a science with them. They also apply to cupping, and burn the parts affected with a moss called moxa. They mourn in white; sit down as a mark of honour; blacken their teeth and nails, and suffer the latter to grow to a great length.

They have a sort of poetry which is said to be energetic, and a very slow music. Their works which reach us, explain their knowledge of painting. Their language is copious and expressive. The Chinese abridge their words as much as possible; the Japanese prolong theirs.

They are good arithmeticians; better printers than their neighbours; inferior to them in their use of gun-powder, but superior in those works which may be termed *upholstery*, such as cabinets, boxes, ornamental furniture of every kind, the laying on of varnish, gold, and colours, and the fabrication of porcelain, of which latter they make the most valued of any. These curiosities are only to be procured from the Dutch, the only people who have preserved their trade with Japan, and that by very disagreeable and humiliating conditions; and the Chinese, who have some access into the kingdom, though much restricted, and sometimes interrupted. The Japanese themselves cannot carry any thing out. The construction of their ships is so prescribed as to prevent their quitting the coast without danger of being lost.

The edifices, temples, palaces, and convents, are ornamented with towers which gradually diminish to the top, after the Chinese fashion, and are decorated with streamers, gilding, and figures of animals. The private houses are chiefly of wood, and low-built, on account of earthquakes. Each of them have a small detached stone recess, to secure their valuable effects from fires, which are very frequent, and which the Japanese have no way of extinguishing, except by pulling down all the surrounding habitations. They are simple both in their furniture and table, but perfectly

neat. Their cookery is good, and often very delicate. They have a convenient method of either enlarging or contracting their apartments, by means of folding screens. The men and women dress nearly alike. The men always wear a dagger. Their ceremonious colour is black. The women live in a very retired manner, employing themselves like the Chinese, in painting, embroidery, and the care of their children. They never interfere in any concerns whatever: it would at least be deemed unpolite in them to advise their husband; it would appear as if they doubted his capacity. All their business is to please him, and to be faithful to him on pain of death.

As in every other country, their holidays are noisy, and accompanied with music. The bonses and their idols constitute their principal ornament. Marriages are solemnized in presence of a bonse, at the foot of some idol. The bride, after she has given her consent, throws the dolls and toys that served her for amusement into the fire. She had till then been invisible to her husband, who sees her for the first time. The relations or friends, particularly the women, conclude the match, which is no expense to the father, as the wife carries no portion. The poor bury their dead: the rich burn theirs. The bonses likewise attend the funerals. It is not uncommon on the demise of a nobleman for twenty of his favourites to kill themselves, in or-

der to serve him in the other world. They tip themselves up on the spot, and are thrown on the same pile. This sacrifice is an agreement of long standing, which during their life procures them the favour of the deceased. The tombs are at a distance from the cities. They are decorated and rendered very pleasant, because they frequently resort to them in honour of their ancestors. When there is any pleasurable party in the family, they never omit going to the sepulchres of their ancestors, requesting them to be present at it, and at the repast places are left vacant for them among the living.

Natural
Curiosities.

Nature seems to have sported in Japan, and to have delighted in uniting the most horrific objects to the most beautiful. Her works are nowhere so diversified. It is in her convulsive state that she gives birth to her most charming and most terrifying productions; that she hollows the tremendous precipice, ingulphs rivers, causes fountains suddenly to rise, receives mountains into her capacious bosom, and in their stead returns a lake. Her secret treasures are then revealed, and stand exposed to mortal ken. The searching eye of curiosity penetrates into the immense laboratories, whose furnaces are the volcanoes.

As no other country on the globe is so subject to earthquakes, so no other possesses so many pyrites, marcasites, minerals, or compositions of

various metals put into fusion. There are not less than eight volcanos in the empire. They alternately flame and expire, burn under the snows that cover them, and pour forth torrents, some of boiling water, and others as cold as ice. Among many other cataracts, there is one similar to that of the Nile. In fine, the silmy seas of Japan produce pearls, and the shells universally admired for their brilliancy of colour.

Among the number of their animal curiosities must be mentioned those called *piercers*. They are a sort of white ants, having the mouth armed with four feelers, with which they pierce in a very short time whatever comes in their way, without ever turning aside, except for stones and metals. They do not carry on their depredations above ground, but under galleries which they form. Their devastation is frequently perceived before they are suspected to be near. The traveller, while journeying through the woods of Japan, is regaled with the melody of the nightingale, whose modulation is far sweeter than in any other country. A gilt, shining, magnificently speckled night-moth suspended in the ladies' hair is considered an elegant ornament. The other moths, say the poets, become enamoured of her. To free herself from their importunity, under the pretext of putting their affection to the proof, she mischievously orders them to fetch her some fire. Consulting only their passion, they

fly to the first flame, and thus consume themselves. Thus is imprudence punished. The moral of this fable is applicable to every nation.

If we believe travellers, with respect to the vast extent of the cities, their amazing population, the number and magnificence of their palaces, there is not any thing in the world equal to the empire of Japan. The roads ascend by a gentle declivity to the summits of the highest mountains: the bold and simple construction of the bridges satisfies the observer as much as it astonishes him. Among the other surprizing labours of this nation are enormous dykes intended to confine the waters of their rivers. The early travellers, not expecting to find amongst a people whose genius they never suspected talents similar to their own, experienced a degree of amazement which led them into amplification. But there is nothing exaggerated in the accounts we have of their skill in the arts. In all kind of toy-work they are, and ever will be, our superiors. They also practise chymistry, and have made some discoveries in it. Of a thick juice, carried thither by the Dutch and Chinese, mixed with a sort of Japan earth saturated with amber and camphor, is made the *catchu*, by us called *cachou*, which fastens the teeth, and makes the breath sweet.

Origin.

The Japanese have the vanity to imagine they derive their origin from the gods. They carry

their antiquity back to some hundred thousand of years. The less infatuated believe they are of Chinese descent; either from rebels driven out of China, or faithful subjects banished by an usurper; or a colony of three hundred young men and three hundred young girls brought thither by a physician, under the pretence of having the plants proper to bestow immortality gathered by pure hands, which plants he was commanded to procure by an emperor of China. But to judge by the countenance, the complexion, the opinions, and other particularities, it should seem that the Japanese nation has been composed from the people of several others, even distant ones, carried thither either by commerce, curiosity, or shipwrecks. The probability of this conjecture is in some degree corroborated by the present government of the provinces, which are divided into a sort of sovereignty; as they might have been, but with more authority, under the first chiefs of these colonies, which either force or political reasons have united under one monarch of the race of the Mikaddos, their primitive sovereigns. The Japanese pretend that those princes began their reign six hundred years before the birth of Christ. Since that epocha, they enumerated, at the beginning of the present century, one hundred and fourteen emperors of the same family. This genealogy is only applicable to the dairos.

The annals in which are preserved the name and succession of these princes may probably be very interesting to the Japanese, because they fix the period of several events, circumstances, and customs, the dates of which a nation in general wishes to know; but we have not found any part of them worthy of particular attention. An idea may be formed of this by the little we shall relate. The Japanese only began to apply themselves to agriculture twenty-nine years prior to the vulgar æra. We may, therefore, reasonably conclude, that their nation is not so very ancient. In the year 71, a new island emerged from the ocean. They erected a temple on it, dedicated to Takajanomia, the Neptune of Japan. Earthquakes are never felt in this island. Buretz, in 499, was a cruel tyrant, who delighted in bloodshed and torture. Whether he was killed, is not mentioned. In 572, Fitatzu, the very reverse of him, ordered that every living creature, of whatever species, should each month be set at liberty; and he enjoined those of his subjects who should not have any animals, to purchase some that they might be enabled to comply with this pious command. In 629 the order of the mountaineer bonfes was founded by a famous devotee.

The matsuri, which resemble our parish festivals, began in 672. There can be nothing superior to the pomp and splendor they then dis-

play; magnificent processions, theatrical representations, balls, concerts, diversions of every kind, nothing is omitted. The cities and provinces sometimes change their tutelary gods, after any public calamities, such as famine, earthquakes, and so forth. Those places which have been the greatest sufferers degrade their patrons, and adopt those who have protected their worshippers; that is to say, the divinities of those parts which have escaped their misfortunes. In 1184 the cubo's authority began to detach itself from that of the dairo. We must remark, that before that time women also had filled the throne of Japan, and that their reigns had not been either the least prosperous, nor the least illustrious. Ookimatz, in 1558, stripped the ecclesiastical emperors of all temporal power, and made himself absolutely independent.

In 1630 happened the great persecution against the christians, under the emperor Niote. It was continued with unabating cruelty during the reigns of three successive emperors.

The Dutch, that they might be able to establish their own commerce to the prejudice of the Portuguese, intercepted and sent the emperor a letter from the jesuits to some other missionaries, in which they flattered themselves with being able soon to transfer Japan under a different dominion. They meant that of Jesus Christ, but

that explanation was not admitted. In 1685 the tribunal of enquiry was instituted by Kinfen. Every person is obliged to attend, give in the religion he professes, and to trample and spit on the images of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary, which are presented to them for that purpose. This ceremony is called the *Jesumi*, or *figure-treading*. The Dutch are only allowed to trade there on that condition. These annals of the emperors, as well ecclesiastic as military, end in 1692.

JEDSO.

Jedso, an island near the continent, to the north of Japan.

At the northern extremity of the Japan isles lies the territory of Jedso. Were there a certainty of this country being a continent, there would no longer exist any doubt concerning the population of America. The Tartars might then have travelled thither on foot, and spread themselves gradually over that hemisphere, which undoubtedly was inhabited later than ours. It is now proved, that Jedso, if it stretches out towards America, is separated from it by islands, which, however, are sufficiently near to facilitate the communication between the two continents. Jedso is tributary to Japan, from which it is divided by an arm of the sea very difficult to pass.

The Jedsoese are strong, robust, savage;

they have a long bristly beard and hairy body. They pay their tribute in furs, feathers, and in silver. They live by hunting and fishing. Their canoes are sewed together with packthread, without any iron-work whatever. They are very skilful in the use of the bow, which is their chief defensive arms. They have, however, a lance, and a sort of cimeter extremely sharp, and not more than a foot and a half long. They poison their arrows.

The earliest travellers, fond of extraordinary, related that the men adored the sky, that the women lived in common, and that they drank to excess. Those who have since visited the country have rectified those erroneous opinions. This nation has only a confused idea of the deity. The inhabitants render great honour to the sun and moon, and consider those planets as the authors of all good. They revere an invisible king, to whom they suppose the forests, mountains, seas, and rivers, to belong.

They have no regular form of worship. That which they pay to the sun and moon is merely casual, without the assistance of priests, or any exterior religious rites. The Jedsoese have several wives; but one only bears the name of spouse. So far from their living in common, a woman convicted of adultery is shaved, that every one may know her for what she is. Her paramour pays a fine. If he is unable, his arms

are taken from him, and he is even liable to be stripped by any person who meets him, without having a right to defend himself. In some districts adultery is punished with death. It is true that they drink strong liquors, as is the custom in all cold countries; but without intoxicating themselves. Their seas furnish them with a singular kind of fish covered with hair, with four feet like those of a hog, from which they extract an oil much valued by the Chinese and Japanese. This also is their chief seasoning.

The Jedoese are impatient, quarrelsome, and revengeful. The Japanese find it difficult to preserve their dominion over them, and are obliged constantly to keep a considerable body of soldiers on their coast. They have neither police, nor form of government. They send the tribute, and that is the only subjection they know. The children are born white, but as they grow up they become yellowish, and then brown. Their eyes are black; their nose not flat. The women buckle up their hair, paint their lips and eyebrows, and dress with much modesty. The men are not so unjust as in Japan to disdain their society for other pleasures. The care of the household is committed to them, which they conduct with great neatness. It is easy to conceive that the indigent part of civilized nations may be less happy than these savages.

There are, in this part of Asia, many very

rich islands, only known to us through the means of commerce. We consequently shall notice them in treating of this branch of human industry. It will be a sort of relaxation for the mind, fatigued by the continuity of so many sanguinary revolutions. Not that commerce, though it appears natural that it should be supported by confidence and amicable intercourse, is exempt from atrocious deeds; but at least it can boast of having procured advantages for the human race, which the conqueror's most brilliant actions can never equal. All its revolutions are beneficial.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

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